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The Week

DURING the week ending September 15, desperate fighting continued in all parts of Spain with the advantage, on the whole, going to the rebels. Uncensored news dispatches made it increasingly clear that their improved position is primarily, perhaps exclusively, the result of assistance from Italy and particularly, from Germany. . . . Hitler took the occasion of the National Socialist Convention for a series of inflammatory announcements in which he declared Germany will demand colonies and will make herself economically self-sufficient. His bitter attacks on Soviet Russia seemed a preparation for a "holy crusade," at some future date, against that country. . . . Tension between China and Japan increased, after several Japanese citizens had been killed by mobs in various parts of China. Japan is demanding that the Nanking government shall exert a degree of restraint over the Chinese population, which both countries are well aware is impossible. . . . Great Britain embarked a large contingent of troops for Palestine, following fresh outbreaks between Jews and Arabs. . . . The conference of the Little Entente served to signalize the extraordinary realignment in recent weeks of the smaller European states, with Poland swinging at least partially back toward France, and Austria, Rumania and Greece wholly or partially under Nazi domination.

PRIMARY and state elections last week were eagerly watched for their indications of what will happen in November. Maine went Republican, as advance reports had predicted, but the margin was not wide enough to justify the Republicans' advance claim that it would demonstrate the inevitability of a national victory for the G.O.P., even if Maine were a reliable barometer, which it is not. In Georgia Governor Eugene Talmadge was resoundingly defeated in his race for the United States Senate on an anti-Roosevelt platform, and hopes were generally expressed that this would mean the end of his public career. In the state of Washington, the Democratic vote outran the Republican by three to one. Even more startling was the fact that in the Democratic primary, the total vote for left-wing gubernatorial candidates exceeded that of the winner, Governor Clarence D. Martin. Only the fact that the left was divided gave him the nomination. . . . Governor Landon, in a speech on the eve of the Maine election, repudiated "a planned economy" in spite of the fact that every country in the world is now moving in that direction. . . . President Roosevelt in the course of several speeches reported to the nation on the drought problem and, in the ceremonies incident to the opening of Boulder Dam, envisaged a time when ample electric power would give us a prosperous nation in which no one need work below twenty or above fifty years of age. . . . A conference of almost a hundred prominent progressives, meeting in Chicago, endorsed Roosevelt. . . . Colonel Knox, speaking at Allentown, Pennsylvania, declared that "no life-insurance policy is secure; no savings account is safe." When his remark created nationwide protest, he lamely explained that he referred to the danger of currency inflation.

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THE quadrennial ceremony of watching the Maine election to see how the country will vote in November is like watching the weather on St. Swithin's Day to see whether it will rain for the next forty days—and just about as scientific. The Maine ceremony regularly includes also the comments of political experts who show that the old phrase, "As Maine goes, so goes the nation," is nonsense. Maine is normally a Republican state by a comfortable majority, no matter how the nation votes. If it goes Democratic, the Republican national chances look slim, but it can go Republican even if a Democratic President is elected. Indeed, it can go for one party in the September state election and for the other in November. The experts have somewhat arbitrarily chosen 40,000 as the critical Republican majority in Maine; if their vote falls below this in September, they are supposed to be in danger nationally. Nearly complete returns as we write indicate that White, Republican candidate for Senator, is running hardly more than 4,000 ahead of Democratic Brann, while in the contest for governorship the Republican candidate is about 38,500 ahead. Mr. Brann has not endorsed the New Deal and has been popular as Governor; this may comfort Mr. Landon's followers. But, whatever the final figures may show, Republicans have little to crow about, in view of the facts that New England is about the only safely Republican section this year, that big Republican money was sent into the state, and that Mr. Landon came from Kansas to close the campaign.

WAR NOTES FROM SPAIN.—The northwestern front was quieter during the week after Labor Day. The capture of San Sebastian by the fascists seems to have been as much a diplomatic as a military victory. It was made easier by a quarrel between two factions both supporting the government: the Basque Nationalists (conservative and Catholic) and the Anarchists (who are considerably to the left of Moscow). Mola, the fascist general, has let it be understood that he will now shift his army southward to attack Madrid. Meanwhile the heaviest and perhaps the critical battle of the war is being fought east and north of Talavera, on the Tagus River. Twice General Franco's Moroccan throat-slitters made an advance of several miles up the river toward Toledo; each time they were driven back. Their next advance was up the valley of a smaller river that points straight toward Madrid, now about sixty miles from their advance posts. On Monday, September 14, loyal reinforcements were being rushed toward Talavera, including the first 4,000 Catalonian volunteers to fight on the western front. It seems likely that Franco will be driven back once more. Indeed, from the beginning of the fighting, the untrained government militiamen have shown a splendid capacity for defensive fighting. Their weakness has been the inability to advance or to capture cities even after a siege of eight weeks. Even more than by the lack of artillery they are handicaped by the lack of organization. On the Talavera front they are forming their first genuine army, and it promises to grow stronger from week to week. The trouble is that the war is likely to be decided, not on the various Spanish fronts, but in Lisbon, London, Paris and Rome. An uncensored dispatch to The New York Times on September 15, dated from Caceres, says bluntly that the success of the rebels in their movement toward Madrid is to be ascribed exclusively to the presence of large numbers of German fighting airplanes, flown by Germans who make no pretense of concealing their nationality. They have grounded loyal planes in that area and are regularly bombing Madrid.

THE Conference of Progressives which met in Chicago last week was a notable gathering of almost a hundred outstanding figures who in the past have been associated with the Democratic, Republican and Farmer-Labor Parties. Among those who signed the call were Senator Robert La Follette and the late Governor Olson of Minnesota. The participants included such well known names as those of Sidney Hillman, Representative Thomas Amlie of Wisconsin, Governor Philip La Follette of the same state, Mayor LaGuardia of New York, John L. Lewis, Representative Maury Maverick of Texas, Frank Walsh and many others. Senator George Norris of Nebraska sent a sympathetic message. The conference endorsed President Roosevelt for reëlection, but it was careful to do this without underwriting the Democratic Party and without making commitments that would prevent the participants from supporting a new party in 1940. In its resolutions, it asked for increased production and fair distribution of wealth, security in old age, collective bargaining for workers and the maintenance of the historic civil liberties. The action of the conference, and particularly the list of persons present, should effectively quash the notion that there is any important element of the genuine progressive movement in this country that is now supporting the Lemke-Coughlin-Townsend-Gerald Smith Union Party. It confirms and strengthens the efforts of Labor's Non-Partisan League and gives added hope for a genuine farmer-labor movement in 1940.

HARVARD'S Tercentenary, at which some of the world's most distinguished scholars in many fields gave addresses and were honored by degrees, closed on a note that must previously have impressed any critical reader of the accounts of the proceedings. A somewhat grandiose scheme for a "Supreme Court of Knowledge" was suggested to establish basic principles that might guide mankind in use of those new scientific techniques which may be as destructive as they can be constructive. Great scientists in the various fields were supposed to be brought together to unite their several knowledges as a basis for policy. This scheme, while exceedingly naïve in its public statement, reflected the undoubted and often recognized fact that while scientists have burrowed farther and farther into separate special-

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ties, human beings need, in order to live well either individually or socially, a whole view of things. But knowledge of the need is a long way from the existence of any good technique for satisfying it. How can the scientists bridge the gulfs that separate them? How can knowledge be integrated? Certainly not by an occasional program of prepared speeches or even by an occasional conversation among authorities. If an approach to a solution can be made, it probably lies through careful thought and research seeking to reconcile the several disciplines, and by using scientific results in the action of persons and groups who are dealing with whole individuals and complete environments.

CONSERVATIVES in Seattle, in their declarations on the Post-Intelligencer strike, are again proving that in attributing violent tactics to labor they are too modest concerning their own role. Since the first day there has been no disorder in the strike which stopped publication of the Hearst paper on August 13, but apparently the conservatives regret this. In a dispatch to The New York Sun occurs the approving statement, "Something is going to happen soon and it promises not to be pleasant. The [conservative] citizenry is slowly gathering its forces and the day is not far distant when those forces will strike hard. Seattle is still American." Another interesting aspect of the dispatch is its treatment of the new daily paper that progressive forces are attempting to start in the Northwest. The first mention of this paper calls it "a communist-affiliated newspaper," which is inaccurate, but so vague as to be hardly arguable. But it then becomes "the projected radical communist organ," and finally "the new communist daily." This is the same sort of progressive assumption that because it is one thing it is necessarily another, because it is for labor it is therefore for violence, because it is for violence it is therefore financed by Moscow, and so on indefinitely, that results in some mild minister's being denounced as a "dangerous Red" because he says that he is against war.

RECENTLY 7,000 French Leftist workers went on strike and barricaded themselves in the largest tire factory in France, the Michelin plant, at Clermont-Ferrand. Meanwhile 3,000 Rightist workers occupied the prefecture of that town in a protest against their fellow workers. This fact was widely publicized in the American press, and The New York Times carried an editorial in a tone of jubilation. The Times said, among other things: "If it will surprise many to learn that the Rightists can muster so much strength among French workers, their readiness to occupy the prefecture will astonish no one familiar with the torn France of today." The fact that accounts for the surprise of The Times is a familiar one in France, but seems to have been overlooked by the American correspondents. Michelin, known among employers as a "progressive," earned this label by being the first and almost the only employer in France to organize a company union. The three thousand workers who occupied the prefecture, from which the prefect, a good friend of Michelin, happened to be absent, were acting on the orders of their employer. His command to retreat, a little later, was sufficient to make them abandon their venture. What really is surprising, and shows the spirit of the French working class, is that 7,000 workers should refuse to act on the orders of Michelin, who owns not only the factories, but the homes in which they live and the stores from which they buy their food.

LAST week the Third World Power Conference in Washington brought together about 3,000 delegates from more than fifty nations, to participate in a highly varied program. Like all big, formal conferences, this consisted largely of the presentation of set papers, with almost no opportunity for real discussion. A large amount of valuable material can be found in these papers, but it is doubtful whether much more was accomplished in the regular meetings than would have been the case if the delegates had stayed home and mailed in their contributions. As far as the Americans were concerned, chief interest was centered in the controversy between private-utility interests and public-ownership advocates. In order to preserve the "scientific" and dignified character of the occasion, an informal understanding was reached beforehand between the utilities and the government authorities sponsoring the conference that there would be no propaganda or politics; everything was to be on a high plane. The utility spokesmen then proceeded to contribute papers intended to show the superiority of private over public ownership, and to oppose the administration's power policy. When their statistics were criticized or their arguments questioned by commentators on their papers, they charged that the agreement was being broken, that politics was being allowed to enter. In particular, when public officials of Los Angeles defended the city power system against misleading statements about it in a paper by Mr. Floyd L. Carlisle of the New York Edison Company, hisses were heard from the audience. All this is characteristic; there is possible no really scientific treatment of public policy without a frank recognition of the part played by politics and interest. The private utilities have never yet shown the capacity to participate in a disinterested discussion.

LONGSHOREMEN on the Pacific Coast are voting this week, in an almost explosive situation, as to whether they shall accept arbitration of the demands of their employers on the terms of renewal of the agreement that followed the 1934 strike. They are, therefore, at a disadvantage, since public opinion may be unsympathetic if they reject arbitration. But the demands of the employers are such as to threaten the very existence of their union. They would have penalties imposed upon individual longshoremen by the labor-relations committees of the

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various ports; they would have the hiring halls taken out of union control and put into supposedly impartial hands. These questions, it is declared by the union's negotiating committee, headed by Harry Bridges, are not open to arbitration. The employers also demand that overtime should start after eight hours' work, instead of after six, as at present, and after 10 P.M. instead of 5 P.M., and that the wage scale should be fixed every six months, instead of being based, as now, on the four months following the 1934 strike. The union, for bargaining purposes, asks a five-cent raise in wages. Another factor that may precipitate trouble is the renewal of the employers' agreement with the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, the leaders of which are even more opposed to arbitration than the longshoremen.

THE American Civil Liberties Union, through the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, has started legal proceedings to appeal the case of Paul Butash, which was mentioned briefly in The New Republic for August 19. Mr. Butash, an unemployed bookbinder, was selling subscriptions to The Literary Digest when he solicited one from Burton Richardson in his grocery store at Angola, Indiana, in the presence of Elgers Ewers, a meat-market proprietor, both men active members of the American Legion. Their suspicions were aroused when Mr. Butash used the word "system" in speaking of the economic and political order of the United States, and when, in exhibiting the globe that is given free with a subscription, he put his finger on the Soviet Union, the Legionnaires felt their suspicions confirmed. Upon his return at their request, the next day, they had arranged a special public meeting to which they invited their friends and a few college students, and at this meeting, although Butash refused to be a speaker, he finally spoke for a few minutes and was then questioned for an hour and a half on his plea for a Farmer-Labor party. At the end of that time he said, according to the Legionnaires, that if a Farmer-Labor party didn't improve conditions it might be necessary to use force. Only the intervention of the students saved him from a bad beating, and the next morning he was arrested on the charge of violating the Indiana criminal-syndicalism law and jailed under a $10,000 bond. When he was tried, the jury found him guilty and asked the maximum sentence, so that Mr. Butash is now serving one to five years in the Indiana State Prison. The Civil Liberties Union hopes to have the law declared unconstitutional, as well as to free this victim of small-town hysteria.

DOMESTIC servants form one of the largest, and at the same time most helpless and exploited, classes of workers in the country. There are an estimated 1,900,000 domestics in the United States and some of the things they have to contend with include: long hours with no overtime pay; absence of employment standardization; personal social isolation; haphazard working and living conditions; exclusion from social-insurance and legislative protection; and the stigma of virtual serfdom. Employing housewives, on the other hand, list among their chief difficulties with domestics: intellectual inferiority and emotional instability; inefficiency and incompetency; unreliability; and impermanency. Obviously what is needed is the setting up of some standards of fair practice on both sides and the building up of a sense of the dignity and value of domestic work. The National Committee on Household Employment, which maintains headquarters in New York City and includes employers, employees and representatives of governmental and private social agencies, is endeavoring to bring about just those things. In the absence of organization among the workers themselves, it is urging the use of a voluntary agreement between employer and employee covering a minimum wage for both full and part-time work; a week of sixty hours or less, with established "hours on call"; payment or extra time off for overtime work, and a specified free period equivalent to one full day per week; provision of a week's vacation after a year of continuous service; decent living conditions for workers "living in"; and duties specified in writing.

Landon on Planning

MR. LANDON'S speech in Portland, Maine, was an able and sharp statement of an issue that does not exist. Nevertheless it is an issue that has captured the imagination of many persons, including some who ought to know better. It is that we have a choice between government-fostered and controlled monopoly on the one hand, and a free competitive system on the other. The second is what has made us great; if perfected and enforced it will keep us prosperous and, above all, will preserve democracy and make for peace. A "planned economy" Mr. Landon identifies with government-controlled monopoly, and he is against it.

To read his speech, one would think that monopoly in this country began with the N.R.A. A new philosophy "was foisted upon us in the misery of the depression," he says, "by a federal administration that used the emergency to absorb the powers of the states—an administration that assumed we had outgrown American institutions." This is a myth that ignores the known history of monopoly, price control and the N.R.A. itself. For years a few big industrial concerns had been growing in basic industries and had exercised power over prices, in spite of anti-trust laws. For years industries in which a larger number of concerns predominated had been attempting to gain discipline over competitive business practices through trade associations and governmentally fostered codes, adopted at "trade-practice conferences." This was one of Mr. Hoover's major interests, both as Secretary of Commerce and as President. For years business had been agitating for relaxation of anti-trust laws.

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During the depression the essential idea of the N.R.A. was promulgated in the "Swope plan" and in a similar plan adopted by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Production restriction, planning of prices, wages and trade practices by industry, released from anti-trust laws and under the protecting wing of government, was the desire of business itself. The N.R.A. was not invented by the Roosevelt administration. It was suggested to the administration by industrialists when industry began to fear the pressure for the Black thirty-hour-week bill and minimum-wage boards. "We can raise wages and reduce hours," they said in effect, "only if you give us the opportunity to govern our industries and abate cutthroat competition." And after the N.R.A. went into effect, it was the big industrialists and employers, not the government, who made its rules. Government representatives of the consumer were nearly powerless, and labor got real consideration only where it was strongly organized. If government under the N.R.A. created and fostered monopoly, as Mr. Landon charges, it did so at the behest of industry.

Nor was the utopia of "free competition" restored when the N.R.A. was abolished. Business kept much of what it had gained; only labor restrictions were removed. Steel continues to fix prices. Big industry still regulates production. Scarcity is the rule of industry, except where more can be sold at remunerative prices. If we were traveling the road away from free competition and toward abolition of democracy under the N.R.A., we were doing so before and are still doing it. Governmental intervention in these circumstances is inevitable; much of it will continue to be demanded by business itself.

"The solution," declares Mr. Landon, "is to free the forces of competition—to stamp out unfair trade practices and monopoly." This is often glibly said nowadays, but none of the advocates of such a remedy seems to have investigated what it implies. It is as irresponsibly and demagogically used as any panacea of Dr. Townsend or Huey Long. After about forty years of effort to devise, pass and enforce laws against monopoly in the United States there is far more centralized control of business in private hands, more restriction of output, more rigidity in prices and costs than at the beginning. What does Mr. Landon propose to do about it? What is his program? Where does he find any concrete suggestions resulting from a detailed and expert study of the facts? How can he suppose that a business-controlled government could enforce the necessary amount of competition, could break up the great aggregates of capital? We suspect that Mr. Landon believes all that it is necessary to do is to go back to the practices of business under Coolidge and Hoover. He probably thinks they constituted a sufficient approximation to free competition. The Republican Party, he says, "denies that our present system has failed." That is what he probably will defend in the long run—the present system, which is a system of increasing monopoly.

The real question is not whether we shall go back to laissez-faire. That is recognized as impossible by almost every competent authority. The real question is not whether we shall go forward to economic planning. That is inevitable—in so far as planning is not done by government, it will be done increasingly, as it has been done in the past, by those in strategic positions in the world of private business and finance. The real issue is what shall be the nature and objectives of the planning, and what interests shall control it. We agree with Mr. Landon that planning by business, intent upon restricting output, such as was practised under the N.R.A., is undemocratic. But what about planning to increase production, to raise the material and cultural standard of life? What about planning under a government expressing the interests of the masses, rather than those of profit-seeking business? Would that not be democracy of a high order? Is it not, in fact, our only hope of achieving and retaining democracy? Certainly a state in which the bulk of industry is governed by highly concentrated wealth, and in which political agencies abstain from governing industry, can hardly be called democratic in an industrial age.

Hitler Looks East

A SERIES of important announcements came from Germany last week, most of them in connection with the conference of the National Socialist Party at Nuremberg. The world was told that Germany now demands colonies, although such a plan is in direct opposition to Hitler's ideas as expressed in "Mein Kampf." It was also announced that she is returning to a firm policy of autarchy, of which so much was heard a few years ago, and so little lately. It is Germany's ambition to reduce imports to the smallest possible minimum in the shortest possible time. Finally, Hitler reiterated in the most inflammatory words his undying hatred of communism, and practically announced a coming war with Soviet Russia. "What would it be like," he asked, "if I had at my disposal the Urals, with their incalculable stores of raw materials, Siberia, with its vast forests, and the Ukraine, with its fertile fields? How these could be exploited under Nazi leadership!" Newspaper correspondents report that henceforth Hitler intends to sign no agreement, join no organization, if Russia also signs or joins.

To a world that has for weeks and months been desperately frightened of a new general war, Hitler's incendiary remarks brought a painful shock, but far less painful than if any other responsible ruler—except, perhaps, Mussolini—had uttered them. Hitler has so often made wild and inflammatory speeches that the diplomats of other lands have perforce become somewhat insulated against their effect. To be sure, on occasion his words have been accompanied by deeds; but in this

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case they were not. It is possible, therefore, at least for the present, to appraise their probable background and results without reference to any immediate and important effect.

The chief impression one gets about Germany today is the discomfort of her economic situation. Hitler's demand for self-sufficiency is to a large degree erecting necessity into a moral principle. German foreign trade has been affected, like that of all other countries, by the worldwide system of higher tariffs, quotas and embargoes which has come with, and partly as the result of, worldwide depression. In Germany's case, there have been two other important factors: the boycotts against German goods because of hostility toward her policies and the fact that her imports have been ruthlessly restricted, as far as possible, to materials of war. Even with the effective censorship, reports are coming through to the outside world of shortages of various types of foodstuffs. There can be no doubt that a situation of this kind must be giving the Nazi leaders a good deal of concern.

It is a fair assumption that the sudden and otherwise inexplicable demand for colonies must be tied to the domestic situation unless, of course, it is a mere bargaining point in international relations generally. The standard of living in Germany is painfully low; even through the intoxicated haze of adoration for Der Führer, this fact penetrates. It is impossible, of course, for the authorities to admit that the country is deliberately guided along lines which require suffering on the part of the general population. Very well; blame it on the lack of colonies and demand that some be allotted to Germany, knowing quite well this will not happen.

As for the attacks on Soviet Russia, perhaps the most striking thing about them is the megalomania on Hitler's part that they exhibit, a megalomania that justifies a genuine inquiry as to whether he is now mentally responsible. He spoke of the entire German military force as "my guards" and, referring to "ruined states" (such as the U.S.S.R.) he observed: "I cannot permit [them] on my doorstep." The tragic fact for the world is, of course, that he has infected a whole nation with his megalomania; that to a certain degree the peace of Europe, and of the world, is at his mercy. To what extent his statements last week represented a real intention to make war upon Soviet Russia within the calculable future, and to what extent they were wishful thinking, daydreaming on his own behalf and that of the nation, we doubt whether anyone knows—not even Hitler himself. But at any rate they provide a scapegoat for the resentment of the German people against their hardship, and hold out a dream of relief through conquest.

The new German declarations of policy make completely futile the proposal for an immediate international economic conference, such as some of the Europeans brought to the World Power Conference at Washington last week. They also draw the curtain over Mr. Roosevelt's idea (assuming that he ever entertained it) for a peace conference among the responsible heads of the chief nations. Hitler will not sit down at the same table with Stalin, no matter how charmingly Mr. Roosevelt may ask him. For the rest, the Nazis remain in complete control of Germany, they are rapidly adding to themselves allies in Central and Southeastern Europe, and more and more does it seem likely that the conflict between the fascist and the non-fascist powers will deepen and intensify into open war unless hitherto unrecognized resources of diplomacy are used to prevent it.

The Drunken Driver

SOME MONTHS ago, The New Republic published an editorial discussion of automobile accidents and the toll they exact in injury and death. We were mildly surprised, shortly thereafter, to find ourselves berated in the columns of The Christian Advocate, on the ground that we had omitted the vitally important element of drunken driving. Since we had sought unsuccessfully for reliable evidence on the importance of drunkenness as a factor in automobile accidents, we wrote to The Christian Advocate asking if they had any accurate nation-wide statistics on this point. To this inquiry we have had no reply except in the pages of The Advocate, which reproduced newspaper headlines dealing with accidents to persons under the influence of liquor.

To clear up any misunderstanding, we should like to say that The New Republic is emphatically opposed to letting anyone operate a motor car while under the influence of liquor. We are well aware that many persons are injured or killed in accidents arising from this cause. The reason we did not mention it in our earlier discussion was that our article was confined to the major factors in the annual death toll, which is now running to about 38,000 annually, and we were not and are not aware that drunkenness is one of these major factors. The Travelers' Insurance Company, a leading authority in this field, while recognizing that statistical information is incomplete and unreliable, estimates that in the year 1935, 3.1 percent of all drivers in accidents were "under the influence of liquor." Of those involved in fatal accidents, the percentage given is 6.8. The National Safety Council believes that the percentage of drunken drivers involved in all accidents is about 7, and of those in cities, about 9. Of pedestrians struck by automobiles, the percentage of intoxicated persons is said to run from 9 to 11.

These figures, of course, mean very little. What degree of intoxication is reached before a man is officially described as "under the influence" or "drunk"? How much variation is there in police judgments in various communities on these points? How many accidents involving one or more persons who have had one or more drinks are officially listed as resulting from some other cause? And most im-

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portant of all, what proportion of the motoring population drives after drinking as compared to the percentage that gets involved in accidents? If it is true that roughly nine accidents out of ten take place without the intervention of drink, it may also be true that some of the accidents involving drivers who have had a moderate amount of liquor might have taken place if they had been cold sober. In recent psychological tests in New York City, habitual drinkers disconcerted the examiners by showing no appreciable lessening of their reaction times after several strong cocktails. This whole subject is one that needs far more careful study than it has thus far received. In the meantime, we hasten again to assure The Christian Advocate that we are 100 percent opposed to the drunken driver.

G.B.S. and the Catholic Censorship

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW again revealed himself as a master of the philippic in a three-thousand-word letter to The New York Times protesting attempted Catholic censorship of the film version of his famous play "St. Joan." Mr. Shaw says that body called Catholic Action demanded a series of changes in the scenario and threatened, if they were not made, to have 20,000,000 American Catholics boycott the film.

He gives a list of the changes which, he says, were demanded. History was to be perverted by omitting any reference to the fact that Joan was ever threatened with torture; the whole episode of her recantation should be removed. Detailed changes in the text were required in sentences containing the words "paradise," "damned," "God," "St. Denis," "religion," "Archbishop," "deadly sin," "holy," "infernal," "sacred office," "babes" and "halo." Mr. Shaw, recalling that in its stage form the play had been praised by intelligent Catholics the world over and that "one of the princes of the Church publicly decorated the first American impersonatress," declared that these censors are "without as much knowledge of Catholicism as a village gravedigger" and have "neither the knowledge nor the manners" to represent the Vatican. By citations from the history and laws of the Church he shows how the changes upon which the censors insist make the record in regard to Joan far worse than if the truth were told. He refuses to admit that Catholic laymen will allow themselves to be kept away from seeing the motion picture by the word of the organization which threatened him.

The effectiveness of Shaw's letter is shown by the hysterical haste with which various semi-official Catholic spokesmen attempted to answer it. Their chief point was that no version of Shaw's play is planned in Hollywood. No one ever said it was; the picture is to be made in England. Next, they assert that Catholic Action covers a multitude of activities, and not merely censorship, which seems a fairly clear evasion of the issue. Several of these spokesmen charge that Mr. Shaw was merely trying to whip up publicity for his forthcoming film, an accusation on which comment is not needed. Will Hays made the highly disingenuous comment that "the functions of the [Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America] production-code administration are not censorship. They provide a self-regulation which is wholly coöperative on the part of those participating in its activities." In other words, the censorship which everybody in the world knows to exist, the censorship which barred Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here" from the screen, is perfectly all right if you just call it coöperative self-regulation. The same New York Times news article which contains all these disclaimers gives the whole show away with the following words:

> While no script of "St. Joan" was submitted to the Hays organization, it was reported in Hollywood that Mr. Breen [Catholic layman associated with Mr. Hays], who passes on projected screen productions, had carried on confidential conversations about it. Questions of what can be approved in a movie sometimes are settled unofficially to prevent a record being made, as in the case of Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here."

The objections to censorship in general are so well known as to need no repetition here. The objections to Catholic censorship are, in summary, that it seeks to censor all types of creative art from the point of view of one church, not merely for the communicants of that church, but for the entire population; that it ignores recourse to the existing laws against obscenity, laws which in most cases are ample to protect public morals; that it censors in terms of a philosophy which 80 percent of those affected, in the United States, are not prepared to accept; that the censors, largely self-appointed, are persons who are not competent by personal abilities, education or philosophic outlook to meddle in any work of art. Mr. Shaw's letter is the most damaging blow the present Catholic motion-picture censorship has yet received.

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The Trick of Neutrality

THE Spanish civil war ranges Europeans in files and companies so decisively that the alignment seems to happen visibly under our eyes. Their excitement is not intellectual: they are not debating new ideas, as their forefathers did in 1789, and we ourselves during the Russian Revolution. About the rich mixture of ideas that inspire both sides in this struggle most of them are hazy. Their reaction, to begin with, is physical: like cattle, human beings are stirred by the smell of blood, even from a distance of several hundreds of miles. More potent still is the sense of class solidarity. The blaze of this conflagration lit up the European landscape, and men perceive, here in sharp outline, elsewhere dimly, the lines of the trenches that separate them in an international class war.

The drama that engaged Europe's attention throughout August turned on the recoil from this discovery. As one watched the German and Italian bombing planes speeding to assist General Franco's rebellion, while the Russian workers taxed themselves to arm the Spanish militia and the French parties of the People's Front staged their impressive demonstrations, it seemed for a moment that two armed doctrines were about to dispute the mastery of Europe. The division was elemental, and as inevitable as that which ranged Europe in two camps between Valmy and Waterloo. To some this clarification of the issue brought a sense of relief: this time, if fight Europe must, at least it would be for something that matters, and not for a balance of power between rival empires. But after weeks of acute anxiety, it was the elderly indifference of the Foreign Offices that prevailed in the end. All Europe is neutral today.

The secret history of the negotiations that resulted eventually in a general pact of neutrality will one day make a tangled story. A little even now can be gleaned or guessed. There were sharp divisions in the French Cabinet. The liberal (or must we call him "radical"?) M. Daladier was, as usual, pro-German, and M. Herriot as usual for moderation, while the Socialists with the spirited liberal, Pierre Cot, were for solidarity with the Spanish Republic. At one moment Léon Blum, painfully aware that he was being driven to act against the will of the masses, tendered his resignation. The decisive influence came from Downing Street; for when the French inquired whether they could reckon on British support if they should have to face the danger of war as a result of the Spanish crisis, the answer of London was flatly negative. Thereafter Paris, reluctantly and with a divided conscience, played for safety in neutrality.

It is not difficult to explain the sudden decision of Hitler to come into line with the Western powers. He is working with unwearied patience and not without a measure of success to win the sympathy of England. He takes a long view of the Franco-Russian alliance, looks forward to a future victory of the Right in French politics and never abandons the hope that he will one day succeed in separating Paris from Moscow. The issue of Spain fell therefore into the second rank of the aims that he pursues. It was worth some risk, which indeed he had taken, but it was not the ground he would choose for an irreparable breach with the Western powers. He may, indeed, have reckoned that he and Mussolini had already given the Spanish militarists in money, bombing planes, tanks and munitions as much material aid as they can effectively use. Given their limited man-power, they do not require an unlimited supply of arms. Why Mussolini, more slowly and with more equivocation, also fell into line is a more puzzling riddle. Both dictators reckon, it may be, that under the façade of a nominal neutrality, Lisbon will still be an open port for their munitions.

British opinion moves on lines that one might have forecast with ease. Of Spanish history the general public knows little, and on it the finer shades that divide the various parties of Left and Right are lost. The French are better able to understand the furious feud of the Left against a Church that has always fettered the free movement of the Spanish intellect, while, as exacting and unprogressive owner, it holds a third part of the soil of the Peninsula in thrall. Equally the French can understand the typical Syndicalist movement, which sprang from Proudhon and reproduces in its faith in local autonomy and its hatred of central control the tendencies of the Paris Commune.

The British press has achieved an elegant simplification. For it the Right is fascist, though in fact it seems to spring from an older and even darker tradition. There is no broad popular movement behind it: it does not talk pseudo-socialism: it relies not on any magnetic Duce or Führer, but on the brute force of political generals. The belief that the Left is Communist dies hard, though in fact when one examines the figures of membership in the various groups of labor unions, it turns out that the Communists account only for four percent, while the main body is composed of Socialists and Syndicalists in proportion roughly of two to one. Beyond the local peculiarities of this struggle British opinion sees the broad issue of democracy against fascism, of the workers against property, and takes its stand accordingly. The Liberal and Labor press is of course for the republic, and often its advocacy reveals strong feeling. The Tory press shows many

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gradations. The low-brow Daily Mail is so hot for the militarists that one might almost question its sanity. The high-brow Observer in its different way is equally their partisan. The Times strives after a certain objectivity in its news and a cold impartiality in its comments, which on the whole reflect the prevailing attitude of the governing class.

Too national, too insular to recognize any common ground between Spaniards of either "faction" and Englishmen, this governing class affects a more Olympian indifference than it really feels. It shudders at the savagery of both sides and would take a little trouble to mitigate it. It believes that the struggle will end in stalemate, and when a propitious moment arrives would gladly launch some attempt at mediation. It dreads a "Red" victory, but it feels no enthusiasm for the "fascist" soldiers (if we are to use that rather misleading term), though it would doubtless side with them if it were compelled to choose. It hopes for a compromise that will allow property to climb again into the saddle.

British capitalist interests, as it happens, are located largely, though not exclusively, in the West. Catholic influence, firmly established by long tradition in the Foreign Office and the diplomatic service, flings a small but weighty section of this governing class on to the side of the Right. Strategical considerations tell the other way. A fascist Spain which owed victory in the civil war largely to the initial help of Italy and Germany would become the ally of these powers. It is, indeed, believed that General Franco has offered naval bases to Germany in the Canaries, the Balearic Isles, and perhaps on the African West Coast, as well as to Italy in Morocco. This would involve a formidable threat to British sea power both in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. France would be literally encircled by fascist powers, and what is worse, would find her communications with North and West Africa, both of them valuable reserves of man-power, imperiled.

These, it may be, are remote contingencies: if the Right should win decisively, there are methods familiar enough to Downing Street and the City, by which its neutrality if not its support might be purchased, methods that range from royal marriages to lavish investments. Portugal, after all, is under a fascist dictatorship, yet thanks to financial penetration and an alliance that dates from the seventeenth century, it is virtually a province of the Empire. The governing class will take this fence when it reaches it, and not before; for it lives by improvisation. But there is enough in this strategical argument to qualify with a note of caution the sympathy that property in this island would otherwise bestow without reserve upon the Spanish Right.

The embargo on the supply of arms to either side, which British diplomacy has furthered, is perfectly calculated to serve this balanced policy. Neither side, so runs the reckoning, has large reserves and neither has much facility for manufacture. If imports can be stopped, it follows that the struggle must one day come to an end for lack of munitions. This means, as Englishmen reason, that the embargo will eventually force both sides to a compromise. In that event there will be no "Red" victory, nor will Spain become an ally of the fascist powers. As a mild, middle-class republic, or as a constitutional monarchy, it will retire into obscurity and play no further part in that nightmare of a continental class war which Englishmen hope to elude. Equally, if the stalemate should result in partition, the two halves will neutralize each other. This calculation in the cool atmosphere of London looks plausible. To anyone familiar with Spanish history, or with the psychology of class wars, it will seem less convincing. Most of the civil wars of the past were fought to a finish without airplanes, or tanks, or heavy guns. Pikes and hand-grenades are in fact much deadlier weapons, if men are really bent on mastery. The reckoning is precarious for another reason: that one has no assurance both sides will exhaust their supplies at the same moment.

This unconvincing realism is not, as the French and English Left see it, an honest policy of neutrality. In fact it weighs the scales heavily against the legitimate democratic government of Spain, by depriving it of a customary right. Never before in the diplomatic history of Europe has any government been debarred from buying abroad the arms it required to maintain internal peace. This new doctrine of spurious neutrality places this government, sprung as it is from a recent and decisive election, on a footing of equality with insurgent soldiers, who lack both legal authority and popular support. France, in particular, barters away her right within the law to sell to a friendly government arms it needs to maintain its lawful authority, in return for the abandonment by the Fascist dictators of a practice that ranks in law as a flagrant international crime. For by directly sending bombing planes from their own air forces to General Franco, under pilots who were their own regular soldiers, Italy and Germany broke the law of nations even more flagrantly than did England, when she allowed the "Alabama" to sail from Birkenhead in the service of the South, and was condemned to pay for this offense a heavy indemnity to the United States. The nineteenth was a more law-abiding century than the twentieth. "We agree to boycott the police, if you will stop helping the gangsters"—such are the social ethics of this doctrine of neutrality. This bluff has succeeded only because in this instance the police are workingmen who fight in their overalls, whereas the gangsters masquerade in orders and uniforms.

Why, then, has the Left in England and France given way? Why in a tortuous manifesto, drafted to conciliate every point of view, did the British Labor Party carefully refrain from opposing the goverment's policy? The answer is simple. The fear of war broods over this continent. Labor may declare its sympathy and admiration for the Spanish Left: it may even (as it did in this document) affirm the right of the Republic to buy arms abroad. But it

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will neither take its stand on this right, nor give effect to its sympathies, because it is haunted by this spectre. If the Republic were allowed to purchase arms in London and Paris, while Berlin and Rome continued to supply the fascist rebels, how long could the struggle remain indirect? In the next phase, English and French airmen would be fighting Germans and Italians over the roofs of Madrid. Would the warships of these powers, cruising round the coasts, observe forever a neutral decorum while their airmen battled in the skies? The prestige not merely of rival powers but of rival systems would be involved, and it would soon seem to these open partisans intolerable that their Spanish protégé should endure defeat. The prospect is certainly alarming—alarming enough to rally the Labor Party to an uneasy and faintly suspicious support of the very government that betrayed it so recently over Ethiopia. It understands perfectly well that the Tory Party, so far from desiring the triumph of democracy and the workers' cause in Spain, aims at best at compromise and stalemate. It none the less supports it, because by sacrificing law and ignoring the claims of solidarity it hopes to keep its own island out of war.

"And what nobler and wiser aim could it follow?" the reader may inquire. To my thinking this policy of perpetual retreat endangers peace as surely as it sacrifices the highest values in social life. The German Social Democrats led the way. Too scrupulous to accept the challenge of the Nazis to civil war, they enjoy today the peace of the graveyard and the prison. The Genevan League followed them, and because it would use only pacific methods to resist Italian violence, it contemplates in defeat the spectacle of its own nullity. But the entire history of Europe since the slump has been a monotonous record of retreat before fascist violence, broken only by the gallantry of the workers of Austria and Spain. Unless at some point the Western democracies will make a stand, nothing will remain of civilization.

There is no way of escape from this cowardice and these retreats, until in close alliance the peoples that still stand erect above the fascist flood resolve to make their stand together. The solution lies in the formation of an international People's Front, which must begin by including in a firm defensive alliance England, France and the Soviet Union. But the first step toward its creation must be the formation of a resolute People's Front in England, based on the French model. No better issue than this of Spain could have been found on which to consolidate it. Through the timidity of the Labor Party this chance has been thrown away.

London. H. N. BRAILSFORD.

Eugene O'Neill

WHATEVER is unclear about Eugene O'Neill, one thing is certainly clear—his genius. We do not like the word nowadays, feeling that it is one of the blurb words of criticism. We demand that literature be a guide to life, and when we do that we put genius into a second place, for genius assures us of nothing but itself. Yet when we stress the actionable conclusions of an artist's work, we are too likely to forget the power of genius itself, quite apart from its conclusions. The spectacle of the human mind in action is vivifying; the explorer need discover nothing so long as he has adventured. Energy, scope, courage —these may be admirable in themselves. And in the end these are often what endure best. The ideas expressed by works of the imagination may be built into the social fabric and taken for granted; or they may be rejected; or they may be outgrown. But the force of their utterance comes to us over millennia. We do not read Sophocles or Aeschylus for the right answer; we read them for the force with which they represent life and attack its moral complexity. In O'Neill, despite the many failures of his art and thought, this force is inescapable.

But a writer's contemporary audience is inevitably more interested in the truth of his content than in the force of its expression; and O'Neill himself has always been ready to declare his own ideological preoccupation. His early admirers—and their lack of seriousness is a reproach to American criticism—were inclined to insist that O'Neill's content was unimportant as compared to his purely literary interest and that he injured his art when he tried to think. But the appearance of "Days Without End" has made perfectly clear the existence of an organic and progressive unity of thought in all O'Neill's work and has brought it into the critical range of the two groups whose own thought is most sharply formulated, the Catholic and the Communist. Both discovered what O'Neill had frequently announced, the religious nature of all his effort.

Not only has O'Neill tried to encompass more of life than most American writers of his time but, almost alone among them, he has persistently tried to *solve* it. When we understand this we understand that his stage devices are no fortuitous technique; his masks and abstractions, his double personalities, his drum beats and engine rhythms are the integral and necessary expression of his temper of mind and the task it set itself. Realism is uncongenial to that mind and that task and it is not in realistic plays like "Anna Christie" and "The Straw" but rather in such plays as "The Hairy

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Ape," "Lazarus Laughs" and "The Great God Brown," where he is explaining the world in parable, symbol and myth, that O'Neill is most creative. Not the minutiae of life, not its feel and color and smell, not its nuance and humor, but its "great inscrutable forces" are his interest. He is always moving toward the finality which philosophy sometimes, and religion always, promises. Life and death, good and evil, spirit and flesh, male and female, the all and the one, Anthony and Dionysius —O'Neill's is a world of these antithetical absolutes such as religion rather than philosophy conceives, a world of pluses and minuses; and his literary effort is an algebraic attempt to solve the equations.

In one of O'Neill's earliest one-act plays, the now unprocurable "Fog," a Poet, a Business Man and a Woman with a Dead Child, shipwrecked and adrift in an open boat, have made fast to an iceberg. When they hear the whistle of a steamer, the Business Man's impulse is to call for help, but the Poet prevents him lest the steamer be wrecked on the fog-hidden berg. But a searching party picks up the castaways and the rescuers explain that they had been guided to the spot by a child's cries; the Child, however, has been dead a whole day. This little play is a crude sketch of the moral world that O'Neill is to exploit. He is to give an ever increasing importance to the mystical implications of the Dead Child, but his earliest concern is with the struggle between the Poet and the Business Man.

It is, of course, a struggle as old as morality, especially interesting to Europe all through its industrial nineteenth century, and it was now engaging America in the second decade of its twentieth. A conscious artistic movement had raised its head to declare irreconcilable strife between the creative and the possessive ideal. O'Neill was an integral part—indeed, he became the very symbol—of that Provincetown group which represented the growing rebellion of the American intellectual against a business civilization. In 1914 his revolt was simple and socialistic; in a poem in The Call he urged the workers of the world not to fight, asking them if they wished to "bleed and groan—for Guggenheim" and "give your lives—for Standard Oil." By 1917 his feeling against business had become symbolized and personal. "My soul is a submarine," he said in a poem in The Masses:

> My aspirations are torpedoes.
> I will hide unseen
> Beneath the surface of life
> Watching for ships,
> Dull, heavy-laden merchant ships,
> Rust-eaten, grimy galleons of commerce
> Wallowing with obese assurance,
> Too sluggish to fear or wonder,
> Mocked by the laughter of the waves
> And the spit of disdainful spray.
>
> I will destroy them
> Because the sea is beautiful.

The ships against which O'Neill directed his torpedoes were the cultural keels laid in the yards of American business and their hulls were first to be torn by artistic realism. Although we now see the often gross sentimentality of the "S.S. Glencairn" plays and remember with O'Neill's own misgiving the vaudeville success of "In the Zone," we cannot forget that, at the time, the showing of a forecastle on the American stage was indeed something of a torpedo. Not, it is true, into the sides of Guggenheim and Standard Oil, but of the little people who wallowed complacently in their wake.

But O'Neill, not content with staggering middle-class complacency by a representation of how the other half lives, undertook to scrutinize the moral life of the middle class and dramatized the actual struggle between Poet and Business Man. In his first long play, "Beyond the Horizon," the dreamer destroys his life by sacrificing his dream to domesticity; and the practical creator, the farmer, destroys his by turning from wheat-raising to wheat-gambling. It is a conflict O'Neill is to exploit again and again. Sometimes, as in "Ile" or "Gold," the lust for gain transcends itself and becomes almost a creative ideal, but always its sordid origin makes it destructive. To O'Neill the acquisitive man, kindly and insensitive, practical and immature, became a danger to life and one that he never left off attacking.

But it developed, strangely, that the American middle class had no strong objection to being attacked and torpedoed; it seemed willing to be sunk for the insurance that was paid in a new strange coin. The middle class found that it consisted of two halves, bourgeoisie and booboisie. The booboisie might remain on the ship but the bourgeoisie could, if it would, take refuge on the submarine. Mencken and Nathan, who sponsored the O'Neill torpedoes, never attacked the middle class but only its boobyhood. Boobish and sophisticated: these were the two categories of art; spiritual freedom could be bought at the price of finding "Jurgen" profound. And so, while the booboisie prosecuted "Desire under the Elms," the bourgeoisie swelled the subscription lists of the Provincetown Playhouse and helped the Washington Square Players to grow into the Theatre Guild. An increasingly respectable audience awarded O'Neill no less than three Pulitzer prizes, the medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a Yale Doctorate of Letters.

O'Neill did not win his worldly success by the slightest compromise of sincerity. Indeed, his charm consisted in his very integrity and hieratic earnestness. His position changed, not absolutely, but relatively to his audience, which was now the literate middle class caught up with the intellectual middle class. O'Neill was no longer a submarine; he had become a physician of souls. Beneath his iconoclasm his audience sensed reassurance.

The middle class is now in such literary disrepute that a writer's ability to please it is taken as the visible mark of an internal rottenness. But the mid-

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dle class is people; prick them and they bleed, and whoever speaks sincerely to and for flesh and blood deserves respect. O'Neill's force derives in large part from the force of the moral and psychical upheaval of the middle class; it wanted certain of its taboos broken and O'Neill broke them. He was the Dion Anthony to its William Brown; Brown loved Dion: his love was a way of repenting for his own spiritual clumsiness.

Whoever writes sincerely about the middle class must consider the nature and the danger of the morality of "ideals," those phosphorescent remnants of a dead religion with which the middle class meets the world. This had been Ibsen's great theme, and now O'Neill undertook to investigate for America the destructive power of the ideal—not merely the sordid ideal of the Business Man but even the "idealistic" ideal of the Poet. The Freudian psychology was being discussed and O'Neill dramatized its simpler aspects in "Diff'rent" to show the effects of the repression of life. Let the ideal of chastity repress the vital forces, he was saying, and from this fine girl you will get a filthy harridan. The modern life of false ideals crushes the affirmative and creative nature of man; Pan, forbidden the light and warmth of the sun, grows "sensitive and self-conscious and proud and revengeful"—becomes the sneering Mephistophelean mask of Dion.

The important word is *self-conscious,* for "ideals" are part of the "cheating gestures which constitute the vanity of personality." "Life is all right if you let it alone," says Cybel, the Earth Mother of "The Great God Brown." But the poet of "Welded" cannot let it alone; he and his wife, the stage directions tell us, move in circles of light that represent "auras of egotism" and the high ideals of their marriage are but ways each ego uses to get possession of the other. O'Neill had his answer to this problem of the possessive, discrete personality. Egotism and idealism, he tells us, are twin evils growing from man's suspicion of his life and the remedy is the laughter of Lazarus—"a triumphant, blood-stirring call to that ultimate attainment in which all prepossession with self is lost in an ecstatic affirmation of Life." The ecstatic affirmation of Life, pure and simple, is salvation. In the face of death and pain, man must reply with the answer of Kublai Kaan in "Marco Millions": "Be proud of life! Know in your heart that the living of life can be noble! Be exalted by life! Be inspired by death! Be humbly proud! Be proudly grateful!"

It may be that the individual life is not noble and that it is full of pain and defeat; it would seem that Eileen Carmody in "The Straw" and Anna Christie are betrayed by life. But no. The "straw" is the knowledge that life is a "hopeless hope"—but still a hope. And nothing matters if you can conceive the whole of life. "Fog, fog, fog all bloody time," is the chord of resolution of "Anna Christie." "You can't see vhere you vas going, no. Only dat ole davil, sea—she knows." The individual does not know, but life—the sea—knows.

To affirm that life exists and is somehow good—this, then, became O'Neill's quasi-religious poetic function, nor is it difficult to see why the middle class welcomed it. "Brown will still need me," says Dion, "to reassure him he's alive." What to do with life O'Neill cannot say, but there it is. For Ponce de Leon it is the Fountain of Eternity, "the Eternal Becoming which is Beauty." There it is, somehow glorious, somehow meaningless. In the face of despair one remembers that "Always spring comes again bearing life! Always forever again. Spring again! Life again!" To this cycle, even to the personal annihilation in it, the individual must say "Yes." Man inhabits a naturalistic universe and his glory lies in his recognition of its nature and assenting to it; man's soul, no less than the stars and the dust, is part of the Whole and the free man loves the Whole and is willing to be absorbed by it. In short, O'Neill solves the problem of evil by making explicit what men have always found to be the essence of tragedy—the courageous affirmation of life in the face of individual defeat.

But neither a naturalistic view of the universe nor a rapt assent to life constitutes a complete philosophic answer. Naturalism is the noble and realistic attitude that prepares the way for an answer; the tragic affirmation is the emotional crown of a philosophy. Spinoza—with whom O'Neill at this stage of his thought has an obvious affinity—placed between the two an ethic that arranged human values and made the world possible to live in. But O'Neill, faced with a tragic universe, unable to go beyond the febrilely passionate declaration, "Life is," finds the world impossible to live in. The naturalistic universe becomes too heavy a burden for him; its spirituality vanishes; it becomes a universe of cruelly blind matter. "Teach me to be resigned to be an atom," cries Darrell, the frustrated scientist of "Strange Interlude," and for Nina life is but "a strange dark interlude in the electrical display of God the father"—who is a God deaf, dumb and blind. O'Neill, unable now merely to accept the tragic universe and unable to support it with man's whole strength—his intellect and emotion—prepares to support it with man's weakness: his blind faith.

For the non-Catholic reader O'Neill's explicitly religious solution is likely to be not only insupportable but incomprehensible. Neither St. Francis nor St. Thomas can tell us much about it; it is neither a mystical ecstasy nor the reasoned proof of assumptions. But Pascal can tell us a great deal, for O'Neill's faith, like Pascal's, is a poetic utilitarianism: he needs it and *will* have it. O'Neill rejects naturalism and materialism as Pascal had rejected Descartes and all science. He too is frightened by "the eternal silence of the infinite spaces." Like Pascal, to whom the details of life and the variety and flux of the human mind were repugnant, O'Neill feels that life is empty—having emptied it—and can fill it only by faith in a loving God. The exist-

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ence of such a God, Pascal knew, cannot be proved save by the heart's need, but this seemed sufficient and he stood ready to stupefy his reason to maintain his faith. O'Neill will do no less. It is perhaps the inevitable way of modern Catholicism in a hostile world.

O'Neill's rejection of materialism involved the familiar pulpit confusion of philosophical materialism with "crass" materialism, that is, with the preference of physical to moral well-being. It is therefore natural that "Dynamo," the play in which he makes explicit his anti-materialism, should present characters who are mean and little—that, though it contains an Earth Mother, she is not the wise and tragic Cybel but the fat and silly Mrs. Fife, the bovine wife of the atheist dynamo-tender. She, like other characters in the play, allies herself with the Dynamo-God, embodiment both of the materialistic universe and of modern man's sense of his own power. But this new god can only frustrate the forces of life, however much it at first seems life's ally against the Protestant denials, and those who worship it become contemptible and murderous.

And the contempt for humanity which pervades "Dynamo" continues in "Mourning Becomes Electra," creating, in a sense, the utter hopelessness of that tragedy. Aeschylus had ended his Atreus trilogy on a note of social reconciliation—after the bloody deeds and the awful pursuit of the Furies, society confers its forgiveness, the Furies are tamed to deities of hearth and field: "This day there is a new Order born"; but O'Neill's version has no touch of this resolution. There is no forgiveness in "Mourning Becomes Electra" because, while there is as yet no forgiving God in O'Neill's cosmos, there is no society either, only a vague chorus of contemptible townspeople. "There's no one left to punish me," says Lavinia. "I've got to punish myself."

It is the ultimate of individual arrogance, the final statement of a universe in which society has no part. For O'Neill, since as far back as "The Hairy Ape," there has been only the individual and the universe. The social organism has meant nothing. His Mannons, unlike the Atreides, are not monarchs with a relation to the humanity about them, a humanity that can forgive because it can condemn. They act their crimes on the stage of the infinite. The mention of human law bringing them punishment is startlingly incongruous and it is inevitable that O'Neill, looking for a law, should turn to a divine law.

Forgiveness comes in "Ah, Wilderness!" the satyr-play that follows the tragedy, and it is significant that O'Neill should have interrupted the composition of "Days Without End" to write it. With the religious answer of the more serious play firm in his mind, with its establishment of the divine law, O'Neill can, for the first time, render the sense and feel of common life, can actually be humorous. Now the family is no longer destructively possessive as he has always represented it, but creatively sympathetic. The revolt of the young son—his devotion to rebels and hedonists, to Shaw, Ibsen and Swinburne—is but the mark of adolescence and in the warm round of forgiving life he will become wisely acquiescent to a world that is not in the least terrible.

But the idyllic life of "Ah, Wilderness!" for all its warmth, is essentially ironical, almost cynical. For it is only when all magnitude has been removed from humanity by the religious answer and placed in the Church and its God that life can be seen as simple and good. The pluses and minuses of man must be made to cancel out as nearly as possible, the equation must be solved to equal nearly zero, before peace may be found. The hero of "Days Without End" has lived for years in a torturing struggle with the rationalistic, questioning "half" of himself which has led him away from piety to atheism, thence to socialism, next to unchastity and finally to the oblique attempt to murder his beloved wife. It is not until he makes an act of submissive faith at the foot of the Cross and thus annihilates the doubting mind, the root of all evil, that he can find peace.

But the annihilation of the questioning mind also annihilates the multitudinous world. "Days Without End," perhaps O'Neill's weakest play, is cold and bleak; life is banished from it by the vision of the Life Eternal. Its religious content is expressed not so much by the hero's priestly uncle, wise, tolerant, humorous in the familiar literary convention of modern Catholicism, as by the hero's wife, a humorless, puritanical woman who lives on the pietistic-romantic love she bears her husband and on her sordid ideal of his absolute chastity. She is the very embodiment of all the warping, bullying idealism that O'Neill had once attacked. Now, however, he gives credence to this plaster saintliness, for it represents for him the spiritual life of absolutes. Now for the first time he is explicit in his rejection of all merely human bulwarks against the pain and confusion of life—finds in the attack upon capitalism almost an attack upon God, scorns socialism and is disgusted with the weakness of those who are disgusted with social individualism. The peace of the absolute can be bought only at the cost of blindness to the actual.

The philosophic position would seem to be a final one: O'Neill has crept into the dark womb of Mother Church and pulled the universe in with him. Perhaps the very violence of the gesture with which he has taken the position of passivity should remind us of his force and of what such force may yet do even in that static and simple dark. Yet it is scarcely a likely place for O'Neill to remember Dion Anthony's warning: "It isn't enough to be [life's] creature. You've got to create her or she requests you to destroy yourself." LIONEL TRILLING.

This is the fourth article in a series of Revaluations. The fifth will deal with H. L. Mencken.—THE EDITORS.

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Mr. Lippmann and a National Government

MR. WALTER LIPPMANN has announced that he will vote for Governor Landon in November. That is certainly his privilege; I have no doubt that several million other Americans will do the same thing. Mr. Lippmann's reasons for his action, however, as expressed in his syndicated column in The New York Herald Tribune and other papers, seem to me to call for comment.

He begins by making the sensible point that the difference between what Mr. Roosevelt would do and what Mr. Landon would do, during the next four years, has been greatly exaggerated. Despite the extravagant criticism of the New Deal by the Republicans, many of its policies would be carried on if the Democrats should be defeated. Both parties, he thinks, now accept the New Deal as it has been whittled down by the Supreme Court. Both are certain to continue large payments for veterans, farmers, the unemployed and the public-works program. Mr. Lippmann is for Governor Landon, apparently, on one issue. He believes Mr. Roosevelt has been guilty of "personal and factional methods" that "create unreal and unnecessary divisions in the nation at a time when solidarity and union are of the highest importance." The President has failed to collaborate with some important elements in his own party. Presumably more important still, he has failed to collaborate with leaders of industry and finance, although these individuals were prepared to give him the strongest support when he took office and "were not opposed in principle" to most of the important measures of the New Deal. Mr. Lippmann feels that the President "preferred to conquer the opposition when he could have persuaded it. . . . It seems to me neither prudent nor farsighted in an age of discontent, of wars and revolutions in all quarters of the globe, to exclude from the sobering and enlightening effects of political responsibility the energetic leaders of American business and finance." Mr. Lippmann feels that if Governor Landon is elected he will be compelled to abolish this personalized type of administration, since the Republicans cannot possibly control Congress in this election. In effect, we shall have a "national government" composed of all the best minds, appropriate to these parlous times.

This amounts to saying that Mr. Landon will consult the leading bankers and industrialists, and that Mr. Lippmann is for him on that account. The prophecy, at any rate, seems to me an accurate one. I think there is now every indication that in this campaign Governor Landon is not his own man and that, if elected, he will not be his own President. Whatever the Republican platform says, whatever the candidate promises in his speeches, the dominant clique behind him expects and will insist upon a return to Hooverism—if he wins. It is true that the world has inched along a little since the Sage of Palo Alto moved out of the White House. Mr. Lippmann is undoubtedly right in saying that certain New Deal policies must be continued in any case. Nevertheless, if the Republicans go in, we shall certainly see a sharp shift in the whole purpose and underlying assumptions of the federal government. We shall see the burden of taxation shifted even more than it is today from the shoulders of the wealthy to those of the poor—if not through overt sales taxes, then through other devices to achieve the same end. We shall see the government drop even such efforts as it has lately made to enforce collective bargaining for labor; its form will be maintained but its spirit destroyed, through the use of company unionism. We shall see a fairly complete return to the financial practices of Wall Street during the days before the Big Bump. If the Republican hierarchy can manage it—and they can't very well manage anything else—we shall see another inflationary boom to be followed by another depression, unless indeed this conflagration disappears into the holocaust of a second World War.

I read with bewildered amazement Mr. Lippmann's statement that the conservative business men of the country were solidly behind Mr. Roosevelt in 1933 and still support most of the New Deal's important measures. I was in fairly close touch with both Washington and Wall Street in 1933 and before and since, and my impression is completely at variance with his. It is true that at the moment of his inauguration Mr. Roosevelt evoked an extraordinarily warm response from the masses of the people, a response that would have enabled him to take far more drastic measures than apparently ever entered his head. It is also true that at the depths of the depression and at the time of the bank crisis, many important business men were badly frightened and wanted the government to come to their rescue. But so far as I can discover by reasonably diligent inquiry, that is all. The men who hammered out the N.R.A. codes know that the leaders of nearly every industry came to Washington prepared to give nothing and gain all. Time and time again the negotiations were deadlocked and the government's spokesmen told the President in despair that agreement was hopeless. When the codes were finally written, business itself got far

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more out of them than did labor or labor's other self, the consumer. For one industry after another, the N.R.A. meant canceling the anti-trust laws in exchange for nominal concessions that in practice speedily evaporated.

The bankers fought successfully against any real reorganization of the banking system. The stock-exchange gamblers stayed in the front-line trenches until they had broken the strength of the drive for regulation of their practices. Trade unionism made little advance except in industries where it was already strong. In steel, in automobiles, in rubber and many other types of enterprise, the successive statutes to guarantee collective bargaining were circumvented through company unionism or were ignored. N.R.A. codes were written providing wages of less than $8 a week. Chiseling was widespread.

No one can pretend that the power interests were anything but bitterly opposed to the T.V.A. and to the Roosevelt power program in general. No one can deny that the great insurance companies fought desperately against some of the provisions of the social-security act, as did many important employers. Everyone is aware that the food and drug manufacturers killed the proposed amendment of the regulatory law of 1906 and were aided in doing so by some of the country's leading newspaper publishers, who feared loss of advertising. Surely Mr. Lippmann knows that scores of the country's leading conservatives have opposed the public-works expenditures on the ground of needless extravagance at the expense of the taxpayer's pocketbook. Their policy has been and is to return the burden of relief to the localities, whether they can carry it or not, and to reduce expenditures to the lowest possible point at which the unemployed can be kept alive.

It is quite true that here and there, individual New Deal policies have been supported by business and industrial leaders in cases where their own interests were not adversely affected. But always, it depends on whose ox is gored. Insurance men might endorse the processing taxes; meat packers might look with approval on old-age pensions. But these exceptions are too unimportant to build upon them a theory that business as a whole wants the same sort of civilization that Mr. Roosevelt (at any rate, in his speeches) seems to want, or will not fight to the death to prevent his getting it.

To me, at least, the outstanding lesson of the depression had been the Bourbon quality of American business. In a time of profound and worldwide upheaval, it has met its great test and has failed. Even today, it does not seem to understand what brought about the depression, or to have the slightest interest in preventing its recurrence. Self-denying ordinances are far beyond its grasp. When Mr. Lippmann says that the President had the opportunity to coöperate with distinguished industrial and financial leaders, but failed, his statement seems to me an exact inversion of what happened. I feel that on the contrary, these leaders have been given the chance to work out a modified capitalist society which might have survived for a long time, and have declined with such automatic instinct that one cannot even say they ever made a choice. This is true of the conservative Democratic leaders for whose hurt feelings Mr. Lippmann is so solicitous. No doubt some of them were conscious of the divided loyalty between their economic interest and their old-time political affiliation. But if so, they were Democrats only five minutes in the hour.

We have seen in Great Britain a coalition National Government such as Mr. Lippmann envisages hopefully for the United States. But the augury is not an encouraging one. The whole world now knows that in Great Britain, the love feast between lion and lamb began with the consumption of the latter by the former. The British National Government came into power through a cruel deception of the voters, who were told at the last minute by radio that if Labor won, their postal savings would be endangered. Throughout its history, its course has been indistinguishable from that a Tory government would pursue. It is not a dangerous prophecy to assert that if Landon is elected, we shall see a similar course in the United States.

Mr. Lippmann's brilliant abilities are everywhere recognized and I do not doubt the sincerity of the mental processes that have brought him to believe that Governor Landon, if elected, will do the same things as Mr. Roosevelt, only better. The Herald Tribune syndicate department, in its advertising, happily suggests that Mr. Lippmann is "the man with the searchlight mind." It is the function of a searchlight to throw a dazzling illumination upon one small area, leaving everything else in darkness. It seems to me that in this case, Mr. Lippmann is looking at one small group of facts to the exclusion of others far more important. I wish he would soften his focus and extend his periphery.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

The End of a Dynasty

By heat remolded in bronze, the princely and half-bare
Ballplayers twine their hilarious motion with radiance
Proper to moist sea shells, striped sunsets, or startling
Skirts of the jellyfish dancers just offshore;
Against this lavish kingdom on sand established
With brilliant umbrellas, and rubber monsters to guard it,
Suddenly, heavy as death or a thousand nights,
The sea advances: the changed, the darkening sea,
With rough white plumes of war and battering-ram tactics;
Crashing at the beach, dinning like a fall of forests,
Lashing after the bright myriads that scatter inland.
Salted afresh with each high tide is the wooden
Walk of the summer rulers; the warm bright floor
Of the palace for playful is sodden; and wreckage dulls
Its rim. The flower pattern of five and a heel
Chintzes the sand no longer. Only the clamdiggers
Come: high-booted, silent in gabardine, wool
And oilskin: bending, pacing, wary of the sea.

VIRGINIA HAMILTON.

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Washington Notes

Coughlin in the Papal Doghouse—No U. S. Catholic Party—The Church Considers Roosevelt —Cardinals Hold Their Fire

IN THE Washington Notes of July 8, it was suggested that Father Coughlin's flyer into presidential politics was not wholly unwelcome to wealthy Democratic Catholics of the East, the group that finds its spokesman in Mr. Al Smith. It was further suggested that the Vatican itself, foreseeing that rise of class differences in the United States, might look with favor on the establishment here of a party that would be roughly equivalent to the Centrum of pre-Hitlerian Germany. Recently, however, I have received an explanation of the Vatican's attitude from an exceptionally well informed Catholic layman which convinces me that the second of these surmises, at least, is completely mistaken, and that the Vatican has always been quite definitely opposed to Father Coughlin's political adventures.

According to my informant, the implications of Father Coughlin's astonishing success as a radio performer were fully appreciated many months ago by church officials concerned with American affairs. The possibility of a Catholic political party here was considered, and at once rejected. This was because of a widely accepted belief that such parties are not practicable in countries where Catholics constitute less than a half of the voting population. It has been found by experience that a Catholic party cannot count on polling the full church strength, and that it seldom permanently attracts non-believers. In a country like the United States, Vatican officials apparently believe that a Catholic party would be foredoomed to impotence.

At the same time that thumbs were turned down on Father Coughlin's political future—so my informant says—church officials reconsidered their attitude toward the Roosevelt administration. The Church, as such, had one specific grievance against Mr. Roosevelt, his retention at Mexico City of Ambassador Josephus Daniels, whom Mexican Catholics regard as hopelessly unsympathetic to their cause. However, it was decided at Rome that only harm would result if the quarrel of the Church with Mexico were made an issue in United States domestic politics. Almost certainly, it would result in creating friendliness for the Cardenas regime among certain groups of American Protestants, and in making it impossible for the Church, sometime in the future, to appeal to Washington to act as mediator in Mexico, as Mr. Dwight W. Morrow did under the Coolidge administration. It is reported that this estimate of the situation was accepted even by Mr. Martin H. Carmody, head of the Knights of Columbus, who previously had attacked both Ambassador Daniels and Mr. Roosevelt with great bitterness.

Except for his Mexican policy, the Vatican officials seem to have found that they rather approved of Mr. Roosevelt. For its own institutional reasons, the Church is at present on the whole strenuously opposed to fascism and war. It was felt that Mr. Roosevelt's handling of the depression crisis in the United States had strengthened the democratic forces of the world, and that his foreign policies had been consistently toward peace. The Vatican was also particularly grateful to him for his frequent mention in speeches and interviews of the need for religious tolerance, which obviously was directed, in part, against Hitler's treatment of the Catholic Church in Germany.

Having arrived at the conclusion that Father Coughlin's political activities were ill advised, my informant says that the Vatican felt itself completely inhibited against taking any step to muzzle him. In the organizational politics of the Church, the United States has a unique position. A generation or more ago, the American bishops united in a demand for virtual autonomy in all matters unconnected with doctrine. This so-called American question was debated stoutly for several years, and in the end the American prelates won a silent victory. In any other country except the United States, the disciplining of Father Coughlin could have been accomplished by a single brief command. But because Father Coughlin was an American priest, the Vatican felt that any direct pressure from Rome might be resented by a considerable section of the American hierarchy, even though they themselves disapproved of him.

This, briefly, was the status last June, when Father Coughlin announced he would run Mr. Lemke for President. While this announcement had the acquiescence, if not approval, of the Al Smith Democrats, it outraged Catholic members of the Roosevelt administration—of whom the most prominent, of course, was Postmaster General Farley. It is fairly certain that Mr. Farley, who has a strict code about keeping his church and party separated, made no protest himself. But other Democratic office-holders seem to have bombarded the Vatican with appeals that Father Coughlin be squelched. The Vatican thereupon cited its long policy of non-interference in the affairs of the American Church, and politely handed the problem back across the Atlantic.

In fact, this meant handing it back to the four American cardinals. Although, except in the election of Popes, their legal powers are no greater than those of other bishops, their prestige has usually been sufficient to give their judgments the force of commands. All four cardinals seem to have been opposed to Father Coughlin, but for dissimilar reasons. Perhaps more interested in social problems than the rest, Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago is reported to have been generally pro-Roosevelt, and is said to have been distressed by Father Coughlin's attacks on him. The other three, O'Connell of Boston, Hayes of New York and Daugherty of Philadelphia, while strongly against Coughlin, were unsympathetic to all or parts of the New Deal. A special complication existed in the case of Cardinal O'Connell, often regarded as the strongest Catholic personality in America. Cardinal O'Connell has no great love for Governor Curley of Massachusetts, and has had none for many years. In the present campaign, Mr. Curley, running for United States Senator, is opposed by Mr. Thomas C. O'Brien, whom Father Coughlin cagily picked as his vice-presidential candidate. (O'Brien is running for both Senator and Vice President.) Cardinal O'Connell heartily dislikes Father Coughlin, and some months ago assailed him in forthright terms. But O'Brien might conceivably take enough votes from Mr. Curley to give the election to the Republican candidate, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, grandson of the League-killer, which would elimi-

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nate Mr. Curley, at least temporarily, from politics, and give the Massachusetts Democratic organization back to Senator David I. Walsh, Cardinal O'Connell's political representative. The disinclination of the cardinals to act seems also to have been based on their recognition that Bishop Gallagher of Detroit had given his approval to the Union Party, and could not reverse his position without loss of public face.

Whatever motivated them, none of the Cardinals apparently made any move. The appeals of the Catholic members of the Roosevelt administration to the Vatican were renewed. Meantime, Bishop Gallagher determined to visit Rome, and lay his side of the question before the authorities. According to my informant, the Vatican felt that its earlier forbearance had sufficiently absolved it from the imputation of interfering in American affairs, and that, unless its disapproval of Father Coughlin was made clear, it risked needlessly offending the Roosevelt administration, and especially its Catholic members. In Rome, my informant says, Bishop Gallagher was treated with exquisite courtesy. His statement that no one attempted to order him to shut down on Father Coughlin is the strictest truth. But after he was safely on a returning steamship, a brief announcement appeared in the Osservatore Romano and a similar statement was sent a few days later to all the press associations. The Vatican intends to take no further action. But, my informant tells me, Father Coughlin is definitely in the Church's doghouse. Whether or not this will be a fatal handicap to his movement ought soon to become apparent.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Mr. Lippmann "Home at Last"—Has He Turned Republican?—Bankers and Business Men Already in Washington

MR. WALTER LIPPMANN has announced formally in his Herald Tribune column that he will vote for Landon. This is the same Walter Lippmann who was once an editor of The New Republic, then editor of The New York World and later was engaged by The Herald Tribune to provide in its ample pages a little corner of mild left-wing philosophy from "the brilliant spokesman of liberalism" to offset its own conservative columns. But Mr. Lippmann, starting as a radical leader in Harvard, began that long march to the right which has carried him over nearly all the continents of the mind from Darkest Socialism in Cambridge, through The New Republic, across the Democratic World, into the conservative Herald Tribune and now straight across that over into its extreme rightist provinces until he finds himself marching along lustily, his face toward the setting sun, with Colonel Knox, Senator Hastings, Senator Dickinson, Ogden Mills, the Liberty League, behind the banner of the little oil man from Kansas.

No one knew better than Mr. Lippmann that his bold announcement would provoke sneers among his old admirers. It is for this reason I insist that that announcement was an act of courage.

It was not merely an act of courage, but of honesty and justice. As Mr. Lippmann marched from left to right, from camp to camp, he neglected to change the flag he carried. He employed the vocabulary of liberalism to support the doctrine of the mortgage noteholders. It has been said that pleasant old ladies in Park Avenue who liked to think of themselves as a shade to the left of William McKinley came to adopt his column as part of the morning ritual with their warm tub and their orange juice. And that they enjoyed prickly little thrills at finding that on point after point the great liberal seemed to be in complete agreement with themselves and the trust officer at the First National. Presently The Herald Tribune was finding it difficult to keep to the right of its left-wing columnist and the editorial page of that sober daily got to be a sort of counter-irritant for his Hamiltonian bias. Now Mr. Lippmann has formally hauled down the old flag he once bore so high. This is honest. Henceforth it is to be hoped his utterances will cease to derive any strength from the assumption that they come from the mind of a liberal.

The liberal philosopher, having chosen to throw in his lot with the Republican Party at the very moment when its frigid toryism has carried it to its lowest estate, had to offer a reason for his conversion. Here his courage failed him, and he invented one so fantastic and grotesque that it does little credit to so plausible a dialectician.

Mr. Lippmann says there is no specific issue of policy between the two parties. Landon is a sort of mousey Roosevelt; Roosevelt a kind of merry, theatrical Landon. There is but one point of difference that is decisive for him. Roosevelt's administration has been a personal, factional and partisan administration; Landon will give us a government of national union.

But this I insist is not the basis of Mr. Lippmann's choice of camps. From the moment he began to criticize Mr. Roosevelt he has urged the same objections as his new friends south of Fulton Street. He now says the N.R.A. is "all bad." But in the beginning, when business men were hailing it as a new charter of freedom, he was all for it. He began to lose his faith in it about the same time that our great business leaders did. When that the poor banker and broker hath cried, Lippmann hath wept. He jumped on Roosevelt's banking acts; he assailed bitterly the stock-exchange act and he never tired of castigating the securities act. All these were drying up the sources of investment, he echoed. He was profoundly distressed at the munitions investigation. He was particularly upset at the grave injustices done Mr. Morgan. He was as much against the war-profits bill as Charlie Schwab and as much against the neutrality act as the du Ponts. He was against the utility-holding-company act, against government interference in business, and has revealed as tender a sensitiveness to the terrible doctrine of soaking the rich as Andy Mellon or Albert Wiggin. In fact Mr. Lippmann is against Mr. Roosevelt for the same reasons that Senator Hastings is against him. And he is, if he could bring himself to speak his whole mind, for Mr. Landon and the Republican Party because time has made him into as good a Republican as Ogden Mills. After all his wanderings he is home at last.

Mr. Roosevelt, he says, should have given us a government of national union. What does he mean by such a

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government? He gives us a clue by saying that "the President might have had the collaboration of able influential conservatives from both parties . . . he could have had, for the asking, the sympathetic advice and help of nationally known bankers and business men and lawyers." That is the great liberal's idea of a government of national union —one in which the President would have called in the bankers, business men and lawyers whose crazy structure of extravagance and folly had just collapsed on poor Hoover.

Unfortunately, this is what Mr. Roosevelt did on too great a scale. His Treasury Department had a nationally known corporation executive and a member of Mr. Morgan's preferred-list club at its head, while of the two assistant secretaries, one was a member of a great Wall Street-Washington law firm and the other first vice-president of the American Bankers' Association. A member of Seligman and Company, Wall Street bankers, was made adviser of the Treasury. His State Department still swarmed with the same kind of rich men who had functioned under Coolidge and Hoover. His Commerce Department was literally handed over to "nationally known bankers, business men and lawyers." Perhaps we have forgotten the Industrial Advisory Committee organized there "to weave the pattern of America's economic future," as the Secretary announced, with the heads of the Steel Corporation, General Motors, General Electric and the Chamber of Commerce as its leaders. It is the fashion now with Mr. Roosevelt's apologists to insist that this committee was never taken seriously. That is a brazen distortion of very recent history. It functioned industriously, had continuous access to the President and exercised a powerful influence over measures and policies. The last chairman of the N.R.A. was the head of the largest tobacco corporation and representative of the tobacco trust, while second in command was Mr. W. Averill Harriman. The simple fact is that this was the great tragedy of the Roosevelt administration—that in the great moment when it might have done something about our economic system, it surrendered to the ideas and policies of the old-school capitalists that had ruined us.

Now what is Mr. Lippmann's idea of the "government of national union" which Landon will give us? Well, Landon is a Republican, the Senate is bound to be Democratic and the House will probably be Democratic. This compounding of the government of a Republican Executive and Democratic Congress Mr. Lippmann imagines is a "government of national union." When in our history has it ever been such a thing? Has it not always functioned as a government of national frustration? "Considering the problems which must surely be met," as he says, he now seriously proposes as an instrument for meeting them a combination of hostile lawmakers and executive leaders which has always been the surest means of not meeting problems in the American system.

No, I have too much respect for Mr. Lippmann's intelligence to accept this as his reason for supporting Landon. The reason, whether Mr. Lippmann knows it or not, is that he has become a Republican. That is not disgraceful. But he should recognize the fact and, more important still, the public should recognize it.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

The Bandwagon

Throughout the South, as a whole, the number of Negroes who vote now is negligible. They are not prevented from voting. It is rather that the Negro is not encouraged tc vote.—*Mark Sullivan, in his syndicated column.*

He [Premier Mussolini] is the one individual the world looks to at present for the preservation of peace.—*James M. Curley, Governor of Massachusetts, speaking to five hundred members of the Sons of Italy at their twenty-seventh annual convention in Framingham, Mass. Quoted in The Boston Daily Record.*

Yet in all fairness to Lieutenant Harp, it must be said that he could not be a prudish or narrow-minded man. He was a sailor, and there is no such thing as an unsophisticated sailor.—*The American Weekly.*

Germany and Italy need no longer quarrel about Austria. Austria remains its own master. But being one's own master, for every genuine Austrian, means being German and acting as a German.—*An item in the Frankfurter Zeitung.*

NOT THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

From Mrs. Mary E. Flaherty of Paris Street, East Boston, comes this suggestion for the naming of Roxbury's new school at Eliot Square:

"That Roxbury school should be named for William Randolph Hearst, in honor of one of the world's best educators."—*From a letter to the School Name Ballot Editor, Boston Evening American.*

ONWARD AND UPWARD

Earl Angstadt, one of the three Black Legion men convicted of falsely imprisoning a fellow member, said tonight that a "new and greater" organization is being formed by the "better element" of the Legion "to uphold the Constitution, combat communism and work for the betterment of the community."—*From an A.P. dispatch to The New York Times.*

OUR GET-TOGETHER-WITH-YOURSELVES DEPARTMENT

1. Metcalfe and Osendarp left the stadium but Owens remained. Except for the Nazi salute he received no more formal recognition from the chancellor, but this was no actual evidence of racial discrimination as Hitler did not receive any of today's winners, even the German Hein, who won the hammer toss.

2. In connection with the Führer's failure to receive Owens in his record mark, it was explained the Ohio boy did not get around to his performance until late while Hitler had to leave early to avoid the traffic jams on the way back to the Wilhelmstrasse.

But the fact remains all other winners were greeted and honored, and all were white but Owens.—*Two International News Service items in different editions, same day, of The Los Angeles Evening Herald.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—THE EDITORS.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Coughlin, Catholics and Politics

SIR: Since you have devoted considerable attention to the controversy that arose in your columns over T.R.B.'s remarks on Father Coughlin, I am taking the liberty of further clarifying the remarks I made in my first communication. A. B. Magil's letter raises some points of interest. His remark about the Church having always been in politics, unless it is simply a gibe, shows a fundamental confusion of individuals with the organization to which they happen to belong. . . .

Mr. Magil, as the author of an able pamphlet on Father Coughlin which was published about a year ago under the auspices of the Communist Party, apparently believes that Father Coughlin is still the president and treasurer of the National League for Social Justice. But when this organization took on a political cast, Coughlin on two separate occasions (on April 27 and May 4, 1935) carefully dissociated himself from the political activities of the group and its "active leadership" (his own phrase). He has also announced that the League will support none of the regular parties, not even the Lemke-Smith group with which Father Coughlin has been closely associated recently. I was thinking of this when I made the remark that aroused Mr. Magil's rejoinder.

This summer has seen Coughlin's first entrance into politics as an active participant instead of a commentator, and the willingness with which he has discarded his Roman collar on several occasions at political gatherings leads me and many other Catholics and non-Catholics to judge that he may discard it permanently in the interests of political office. I, for one, hope that he takes this step, since his activities have brought much unfavorable and unjustified criticism upon the church which, as a priest, he represents. . . .

MASON WADE.

Windsor, Vt.

Pioneers in Marxist Criticism

SIR: I notice Mr. Oscar Leonard's letter denying that Granville Hicks is "a pioneer in Marxian criticism in this country." Your correspondent considers that V. F. Calverton is that pioneer, on account of a book called "The New Spirit." Your correspondent says that this book "appeared so long ago that 'memory runneth not to the contrary.'" The date which your correspondent did not trouble to look up is 1925.

If Mr. Leonard and the reviewer of Mr. Hicks's book, Mr. Newton Arvin, are interested in the history of Marxian criticism in the United States, they should consult a magazine article published in Collier's Weekly in 1904, entitled "Our Bourgeois Literature," by Upton Sinclair. This essay was afterwards printed in pamphlet form by the Charles H. Kerr Company and widely circulated. It was quoted almost entire in "The Industrial Republic" by Upton Sinclair, published in 1907.

Pasadena, Calif. UPTON SINCLAIR.

The Western Writers' Conference

SIR: The writers of America, and particularly the writers of the West, in which the liberty-loving tradition of the pioneer is still fresh, today find themselves facing the most crucial problems of literary history.

If he is to preserve the integrity, the pride and the dignity of his craft, the writer must search himself and his relation to the social scene about him. The play of social forces in the last two decades has made at least two of the great nations of the world untenable to the writer and artist of integrity. Even in America artistic integrity has been issued challenges we cannot afford to overlook.

We cannot escape the conclusion that the issue of artistic liberty is closely bound to the issue of economic freedom. We hold that the privilege of the writer to create in accordance with the dictates of his conscience is inescapably related to the rights of freedom of speech and press, to the right of the worker to organize and bargain collectively for security, and to the right of minorities to voice social theories as yet unpopular with the majority.

We must oppose war and fascism as social evils and because of the book burnings and censorships which follow in the wake of both.

We are therefore issuing a call for a Congress of Western Writers to be held in San Francisco on 9, 10 and 11, October, 1936, to discuss the problems facing us and to form an organization to meet those problems and to defend American culture from attacks that already have been threatened against it.

LINCOLN STEFFENS, GEORGE P. ADAMS, B. A. BOTKIN, JOHN HODGDON BRADLEY, WITTER BYNNER, OLIVER CARLSON, HAAKON M. CHEVALIER, TRAVERS CLEMENT, HARVEY FERGUSSON, SARA BARD FIELD, HILDEGARDE FLANNER, MARTIN FLAVIN, MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD, MICHAEL GOLD, HELEN HOYT, PAUL JORDAN-SMITH, ALEXANDER KAUN, ROBIN LAMPSON, JANET LEWIS, ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, MAX MILLER, WILLIAM SAROYAN, UPTON SINCLAIR, TESS SLESINGER, LOUIS ADAMIC, JOHN STEINBECK, LILLIAN SYMES, CLARA WEATHERWAX, MARIE DE L. WELCH, GEORGE WEST, NATHANAEL WEST, ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS, ELLA WINTER, CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD, T. K. WHIPPLE, and many others.

San Francisco, Calif.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Henry Stoner, of New York City, points out to us that the U.S. Coast Guard is the only military service that has no Reserve Corps, and he thinks one should be formed immediately. Mr. Stoner's titles caught our eye. He signs himself, "President of the League Against Gerrymandering and Rotten Boroughs in the U.S.A., and Organizer of the United States Coast Guard Reserves."

Science and Society, a forthcoming Marxian quarterly to be published in Boston, tells us a little more of its plans. The first issue is scheduled to appear on October 1. Foreign editors recently added to the staff include Professor H. Levy of the Imperial College of Science, London, Professor J. D. Bernal of Cambridge University, and Professor H. J. Muller of the Institute of Genetics, Leningrad.

What's on the Air?

Frederic William Wile assays "The Campaign Up to Date." Saturday, September 19, 6 P. M., C.B.S.

Exercises at Seventieth National Encampment of the G.A.R., broadcast from the National Cathedral in Washington. Sunday, September 20, 5 to 5:30 P. M., C.B.S. and N.B.C.-WJZ.

Earl Browder and others on official Communist Party program. Monday, September 21, 10:45 to 11 P. M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Mayor LaGuardia and others at New York Herald Tribune conference on current problems. Tuesday, September 22, 10:05 to 10:15 and 10:45 to 11:15 A. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

William Lemke, Earl Browder, Norman Thomas, Aubrey Williams and others at New York Herald Tribune Conference. Wednesday, September 23, 10 to 11:15 A. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Frances Perkins, Herbert Hoover, James A. Farley, John D. M. Hamilton, Henry D. Wallace and Theodore Christianson at New York Herald Tribune Conference. Wednesday, September 23, 2 to 5:30 P. M., both N.B.C. networks.

President Roosevelt, Governor Landon and Colonel Henry Breckinridge speaking to New York Herald Tribune Conference. Wednesday, September 23, 9 to 10 P. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Address by the newly elected commander of the American Legion, at close of that organization's convention in Cleveland. Thursday, September 24, 10:45 P. M., C.B.S.

All times given are Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

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Ballads in Mississippi

I

THE FIRST Spanish adventure in Mississippi ended in 1542 with the death of De Soto. The French came next with their settlements of Biloxi (1699) and Natchez (1716). To this day in some of the towns on the Gulf Coast, the Spanish and French beginnings show in the names for streets, the houses, the traces of Creole accent, and in Mardi Gras; and farther inland, as Mr. Hudson[1] tells us, in places like DeLisle, with their white dwellings under the water-oaks along the dark tidal bayous, there are traces of that early Latin civilization. Until a few years ago, French was the language at church and at the local school, and no small amount of French folklore still survives. But the folklore of the present state of Mississippi had to wait till the period of British dominion.

The British claim to this territory dates back to the reign of Charles I, but whatever shifting policies were instituted for it, nothing was put in force until the Treaty of Paris in 1763 put an end to the Seven Years' War, and France ceded the territory of which Mississippi was a part to England. A vigorous colonial administration was begun. To officers of the army and navy who would actually reside there, grants of land were made, according to rank, of from 5,000 to 200 acres, privates 60 acres. Most of this movement took place in the Natchez District. To these were added colonists from Eastern states like New Jersey. The southeastern part of what is now Mississippi was dominated by a civilization essentially English and of a potential, certainly, and to a considerable extent actually, squirearchal cast. The next twenty or thirty years served only to increase these tendencies. The region was too far off to take any part in the Revolution; the majority of the British settlers, with their official attachment to England, were Loyalists. A stream of Loyalists from South Carolina and Georgia and more northern colonies as well began to pour into the territory, coming overland and by way of the rivers. In 1781 this territory of West Florida was conquered by the Spanish. Their rule was mild and gracious, such as might draw further immigration from the United States. The influx of colonists led to an even greater Anglo-Saxon domination. After the withdrawal of the Spanish in 1798 and the erection of the Mississippi Territory, a large immigration from the older Southern states was in progress for several decades. Among these states Virginia made a notable showing; the rich planter country along the Mississippi was the chosen destination. Two groups of Scottish settlers arrived from North Carolina, built their churches and schools, and spoke Gaelic exclusively until as late as 1820. There were also Irish settlers, though not to the same extent.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find some of the Old Ballads and their descendants in Mississippi. To the collections and accounts of such ballads in other states—for example, Virginia, Missouri, North Carolina, Kentucky, Nebraska, Texas, South Carolina—Professor Hudson now adds his Mississippi. The search he made was wide and eager, the volume is admirably edited; there are very usable notations, and in the discussions an agreeable flavor of his humanity. He takes Child's famous collection, "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," as a working basis for the text of the ballads, noting in each case the variants given by Child and those in Mississippi.

The first section provides a list of twenty-seven of the Old Ballads as found, orally preserved, in Mississippi. Among them, choosing at random, are such well known ballads as "Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight" (four Mississippi texts); "Lord Randall" (two texts); "Edward" (two texts); "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" (five texts); "The Wife of Usher's Well" (two texts); "Barbara Allen" (sixteen texts); "The Maid Freed from the Gallows" (six texts); and so on. These twenty-seven ballads are only something like a third of the ballads and songs of foreign origin that the collection presents. In some cases, as Professor Hudson states, the Mississippi text is better than any to be found in Child, very likely because of its not having had some editor working it over for print and gentle readers.

To a fair extent the ballads were sung in the more aristocratic houses—the landed gentry, the great planters, whatever one may choose to call them—of the South. But the main channel of their survival is to be found among the small farmers, the people of the more rural districts, where the land was poorer and opportunity, good living and contact with the world far less. They were taken down mostly from the lips of the old people. For them the memories of their younger days cluster round these words that must always tell a story and the melody to be sung with each, all accepted as ancient and inherited. You remember some of those who sang them but never who wrote them, for it is a part of ballads that their authors are unknown. Indeed for "Lady Alice," of which four versions were found in Mississippi, two known as "George Promer" and two as "Giles Collins," one of the "Giles Collins" comes from the sixth generation of a Mississippi family who have sung it for a hundred and fifty years—the great-grandmother of the Maclachlan that communicated the ballad to Professor Hudson used to say that it was brought by her grandfather from England and that her father had been sung to sleep by it in Revolutionary times.

As we have seen, these ballads in their various forms have been largely drawn from people in more or less remote communities or remembering times more or less remote. As might be expected, the young people are not interested in Old Ballads nowadays, what with automobiles, the radio, the movies, and the world spinning about their ears. It is time, then, to write down these songs, though in doing so we violate one of their chief principles, which is that the life and freshness of them best survive in the singer's memory, changed here and there as the need seems to call for, or even given over to names and items new to them but yet so willed by the new singers and listeners and alive enough. As to the kind of survival the ballads make in the printed page, we may wonder about that, as Sir Walter Scott, collecting for his "Minstrelsy," no doubt knew when he asked the old Highland woman for songs. "They were made for singing, and no for reading," she said, "but ye ha'e broken the charm now, an' they'll never be sung mair."

STARK YOUNG.

[1] Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background, by Arthur Palmer Hudson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 333 pages. $5.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Waste Land

AFTER reading Stuart Chase's "Rich Land, Poor Land,"[1] I remembered two episodes out of my past. . . . I was nine years old when a lumber company cut the last of the pine and hemlock forest that had covered Cambria County, Pennsylvania, on the tableland at the summit of the Alleghanies. That summer a fire burned for two months in the slashings. The company pulled up its thirty miles of railroad track, dismantled its mill and moved into new country in West Virginia. Some of the Cambria County lumberjacks followed it southward, and later came back with stories of high spruce-clad mountains and little streams, ice cold and shadowy with trout, that came twisting down out of the virgin timber. West Virginia seemed to me a fabulous land, of deer hunters, lumberjacks and backwoods farmers, or rivers with magical names—the Big and the Little Kanawha, the Greenbrier, the Tygart's Valley River, the Cheat (with its Laurel Fork and its Glady Fork), the Tug Fork of the Big Sandy—but most of all it was the land in which I situated the myth of the pioneer, the mountain paradise that was like my own country before the sawmills and the coal mines ravaged it.

Years afterwards I drove through West Virginia and found that I had come too late. The spruce forests were cut and the stump lands burned over; the bright streams were a trickle between muddy banks; the magical rivers were, for the most part, reddened and poisoned with sulphur water from the mines. Mile after mile I passed through a nearly treeless country of sparse hill pastures and steep cornfields full of gulleys, with sometimes a cluster of unpainted cabins round an abandoned coal tipple. I once saw a corner of the Ile de France after the Germans had retreated to the Hindenburg Line, chopping down the orchards behind them and filling the wells with dead horses. West Virginia, after the capitalists had first invaded it and then retreated in face of the depression, looked something like that.

I remembered these two episodes when reading Stuart Chase because he makes it clear that Cambria County and the West Virginia mountains are not lonely examples of invasion and waste and plunder. Americans everywhere have been in the habit of regarding their country less as a place to live in than as a field for exploitation. But the field is narrowing from year to year as the continent surrenders its wealth. Mr. Chase in his third chapter gives a list of the natural resources that are shrinking dangerously. Thus, one-fourth of the iron ore, more than half of the copper and petroleum and almost two-thirds of the lead and zinc have already been taken from the ground. Of the saw timber, less than a fourth remains. The disappearance of forests and grasslands has interfered with the water cycle, so that wells are going dry in many states, while rivers are fantastically high in spring and low in summer, and filled at all seasons with silt and pollution. The soil itself is washing or blowing away. One-eighth of the farmland formerly cultivated has been rendered worthless by erosion and another fourth of it is threatened with ruin. In Stewart County, Georgia, there is a gully that was started forty years ago by rainwater dripping from the eaves of a barn. The gully has deepened and widened and lengthened until it has swallowed forty thousand acres of good cotton land. It now seems likely to engulf the whole county.

In describing this wastage of continental resources and suggesting the means by which the government is trying to control it, Mr. Chase has chosen what is probably the biggest subject in any of his ten books. Moreover, the subject is close to his heart, as one can tell by reading any one of twenty passages in which he reveals his hatred of useless destruction and his yearning for logic in nature as well as society. Some of these passages are among the best he has written, and Mr. Chase at his best is unequaled in his own field of popularized theory. He has a special talent, well illustrated in this book, for touching the imagination, for painting pictures of a warm, bright future that can be reached by following the simple and sensible course he indicates. Also he is able to present complicated ideas in such a fashion that we can not only understand them but see and touch them. The fine photographs by Charles Krutch and the maps and diagrams by Henry Billings make his present story even clearer.

And yet as I read on a little breathlessly from chapter to chapter, I began to feel that "Rich Land, Poor Land" was not the most successful of his books. The subject is not only too big but too involved for adequate treatment in 350-odd pages. It offers a problem of organization that Mr. Chase hasn't completely solved. It touches on a whole collection of sciences—not only agronomics and forestry but metallurgy, zoölogy, climatology, sanitary and hydraulic engineering. We could scarcely ask Mr. Chase to acquire a specialized training in all these fields, and yet a little more scientific work might have kept him from making loose statements. Thus, he implies that silt in the rivers is almost wholly due to man's abuse of nature. In 1630, "rivers, except the Mississippi and the Colorado in spring freshet, ran clear and sparkling to the oceans." I have not seen it reported by early explorers that the prairie rivers were ever clear, even in midsummer. Mr. Chase always tends to make the aboriginal continent seem more beautiful and peaceful than it was in reality.

But a worse fault from the philosophical point of view is that he neglects social structure in favor of what might be called an agronomic interpretation of history. He implies that civilizations have declined because the land was allowed to lose its richness. "Mesopotamia, Egypt, North Africa, Greece, Rome and Mexico under the Maya worked through their resource assets and passed into limbo." In speaking of the Roman Empire, he is more specific: "Horace and Virgil praised bucolic virtues in deathless verse, while Rome was fed by fleets of wallowing galleys from North Africa. Her rich lands turned to poor lands. The Roman Empire became an interesting item to place upon the dusty shelf of history." I submit that this is a hasty way to describe the famous decline and fall. The truth is that Italy in the days of Horace and Virgil was about to undergo an agricultural revival that would persist all through the early Empire. The Romans understood the use of manures; they kept their lands fertile as long as the general economic structure of society made scientific farming worth while. In the same way the Americans of the twentieth century have knowledge enough to check the depletion of their own national resources. But they cannot apply that knowledge unless the general social structure makes it possible for them to act.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

[1] Rich Land, Poor Land, by Stuart Chase. New York: Whittlesey House. 371 pages, illustrated. $2.50.

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For and Against Norman Thomas' New Book

MR. THOMAS' book is a welcome clarification of the political situation. The national campaign threatens to mark the climax of ineptitude in its play on words like liberty, security, dictatorship, rendezvous and destiny, while fundamental issues are scrupulously avoided. New Deal is itself a ghastly misnomer for a process of discarding and drawing, after which the hand shows at best only a busted flush. What is needed is a new deck in place of the old deck of cards, marked by deceit, greasy from sticky fingers, red with the blood of murder.

In "After the New Deal, What?" Mr. Thomas states the real issue with clearness and trenchancy. It is the contradiction between wealth for the few and welfare for the many. That the system of private capitalism cannot correct itself should be apparent to all eyes except those of self-interest. Social revolution is more plausible than its reform. That revolution is conceived by Mr. Thomas as a process of socialization in which the social value of land, natural resources, public utilities and large industries shall be taken over by society and administered for the common good.

Mr. Thomas is sharply critical of an administration that has paved its way with good intentions—its essentially unsound policy of mitigating scarcity with subsidies, its failure to grapple with the constitutional problem, its shocking betrayal of the sharecroppers in the South and of industrial workers in such cases as the Colt Arms strike. He points out the danger that disillusionment with what is mistaken for genuine social reform may bring about fascism as a last despairing effort on the part of the panic-stricken middle class to save itself by putting the power of violence at the service of capital. He does not regard this danger as sufficiently imminent to justify the formation of a premature united front behind Roosevelt which would possess no constructive attribute whatever, and prefers to rely on the process of leavening democracy by education for a rational social order. In estimating this decision one must weigh his judgment of the American situation against that of Comrade Dimitrov. Mr. Thomas does, however, accept the united front in principle through the far-off divine event of a farmer-labor party.

In two respects Mr. Thomas is on the defensive: in justifying the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Party at Detroit in 1934, which resulted in the defection of the Old Guard, and the refusal by the Convention of 1936 to merge with the Communist Party. As to the first, he makes good his defense in throwing the responsibility for the split on those to whom the Socialist Party had become a vested interest held for themselves rather than a trust for the American people. In regard to the second, one may regret the decision while understanding it. Mr. Thomas is personally as free from any spirit of rancor or reprisal as a man can be, but it is difficult to conceive of his followers forgetting overnight the epithets heaped upon them only a year or two ago. Again the difference in revolutionary philosophy would make amalgamation difficult. The Communists hold that the party should make the revolution; Mr. Thomas would have the people make it themselves. Clearly it is better that the two groups should quarrel, if they must, from twin beds rather than under the same blankets.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

AFTER the New Deal, What?" is valuable as an exposition of the political views of the man who determines what the Socialist Party stands for in the 1936 elections. In it can be traced the features of an opportunist sectarianism, which will be the chief explanation for the inevitable decline of that party, as it will be registered on November 3. Reading it, one can understand the warm recommendation of Mark Sullivan to his Republican confreres, to "follow" closely the writings of Norman Thomas as invaluable material with which to combat the progressive labor movement's attacks on Landon.

The central political thought of Thomas is his definition of fascism as "an effort of the middle class." For him the role of monopoly capital in fascism is secondary and incidental. From this follows his acceptance of the superficial mask of progressivism thrown over Landon, his refusal to see any significance in the concentration of reactionary forces behind Landon, his contradictory estimate of Roosevelt and Landon as essentially identical while crediting Roosevelt with a non-existent "socialist approach to a great economic problem" in the T.V.A. It is this naïve conception of socialism which makes it possible for Thomas to retain the illusion that his major slogan for 1936, "socialism against capitalism," has an immediate reality.

One looks in vain through this book to find a simple recognition, not to mention explanation, of the fact that, following Hearst, the Republican Party, the Liberty League, Father Coughlin and leading capitalist organizations of all sorts are making the chief issue in the campaign the question of socialism or capitalism. Indeed, Thomas specifically denies there is any such development, saying that "only the Socialist Party" raises this issue. Evidently he doesn't read the daily newspapers, a large majority of which agree that this is the central issue in 1936.

This year Thomas is still dabbling in theories of money and currency, a field that he entered during the 1932 campaign, when he declared in favor of "a controlled inflation." Without changing his views, he has adopted a different label this year, calling for "a managed currency." This is now the fad among inflationists; even Father Coughlin denies that he stands for inflation.

Thomas sums up his views on foreign policy in the slogan, "isolation from what makes for war, coöperation in what makes for peace." That might mean anything, however, when translated into terms of concrete policy. To know what it means for Thomas we must find out, from whom is he isolated, with whom does he coöperate? He rejects as a "dangerous illusion . . . any sort of cooperation with the capitalist League of Nations"; but he is even more alarmed by the idea of coöperation with the socialist Soviet Union. Thus he isolates himself from every government without exception as being included among those things that make for war. He similarly rejects the policies of the Labor and Socialist International, of whose Executive he is a member; of the Communist International; of the French Socialist Party; of the British Labor Party; of the Brussels Congress for World Peace; of the American League Against War and Fascism. He rejects the views of a large part of the membership of his own party, as also "making for war." With whom does he coöperate, then, as the forces "making for peace"? The only current of thought to which he does not take exception is that

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of Trotskyism. And this he does not mention, not even to acknowledge his indebtedness for the color and form of his views on many questions. If he finds so little with which he can coöperate as making for peace, no wonder he is pessimistic, and even fatalistic, resigned to the inevitability of watching the world sink into fascism and war.

Internationally, Norman Thomas finds all forces making for war, and therefore he adopts a policy of universal isolation. Within the United States he rejects any organized coöperation with other groups except for the most limited and transitory issues. Because the Communists are campaigning in dead earnest for the Farmer-Labor Party, he says they have made it "a sort of fetish." He would "heartily endorse" the Farmer-Labor Party "under proper conditions"—but then we find that these conditions are that it should adopt the program of the Socialist Party. He is extremely dissatisfied that the Farmer-Labor Party is growing in localities and states, and ridicules the idea that a national party can grow upon such a basis, as an idea of "gradual evolution" which is distasteful to him. In domestic politics, also, Thomas is an isolationist in practice. His scorn for the "opportunism" of the Communists is equaled only by that which he showers upon Labor's Non-Partisan League for seeing the menace of fascism in the Wall Street backing of Landon, rather than the middle-class backing of Roosevelt.

This book is not the definitive textbook of sectarianism, but it is the outstanding current contribution to this field of literature. EARL BROWDER.

Robert Morss Lovett, of The New Republic editorial board, describes himself as "not a member of the Socialist Party, but socialist by conviction." Earl Browder is, of course, the secretary of the Communist Party and its presidential candidate in this election. "After the New Deal, What?" is published by Macmillan at $2.—THE EDITORS.

The New Deal by Lanternlight

Half Way with Roosevelt, by Ernest K. Lindley. New York: The Viking Press. 436 pages. $2.75

What It's All About, by William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Company. 155 pages. $1.25.

I'm for Roosevelt, by Joseph P. Kennedy. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 155 pages. $1.

NO MAJOR election is now official without a Literary Digest poll; it may be that soon no election will be official without a campaign book by Mr. Lindley. It would be an excellent tradition to establish. Mr. Lindley's three campaign books, written for the 1932, 1934 and 1936 elections, have few rivals for detailed, first-hand information and transparent honesty. Dressed in Diogenes' barrel, Mr. Lindley pokes through the White House and Capitol with a lantern, seeking objective truth with the intensity that other people use only for lost collar-buttons.

Mr. Lindley's lantern, it must be said, is not the brightest he could find. At the outset of his book he says that he will have no truck with Marxian analysis, and repeatedly announces his scorn of "doctrinaires." Nevertheless, the lantern that he uses, even if dim, throws an extremely interesting light. Mr. Lindley is a hard-shell democrat (with a small "d"), and his test for everything is compatibility with literal democratic processes.

With insignificant exceptions, his judgment of Mr. Roosevelt's success or failure in dealing with the issues that have arisen in the last three and a half years is made to depend wholly on the accuracy with which Mr. Roosevelt has bisected conflicting pressures. "The President sits in a whirlpool of insistent demands and ideas and does, or asks Congress to do, what seems, in the balance, to be practicable. . . ." After discussing every important act of the administration, Mr. Lindley lists sixteen major successes and seven major failures. The latter were all due, he thinks, simply to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt placed his necessary compromise too far to the right, yielding too much to reactionary pressure, and not enough to pressure from the propertyless.

Mr. Lindley's book is a vivid reminder of the real nature of democracy in an unequal society. In such a society, democracy necessarily means that no one will get precisely what he wants, that justice will never be done. There will always be compromise, and the parasitic and anti-social elements will always be able to drive hard bargains with the rest of the community:

> On two or three occasions Mr. Roosevelt wasted energy and political support for not particularly profitable purposes. He could have accepted less in the original Securities Act, I think, especially since the administration of the Act has been lenient. His fight for the "death sentence" in the Public Utility Holding Company Act probably would not have been worth the effort at any time.

The recompense of a capitalist democracy, of course, is that a minimum standard of civil liberties is maintained, which is worth a great deal, but it isn't heaven. One of the distinctive merits of this book is that it shows, with painstaking detail, the cat's cradle of compromises necessary to permit democracy to function since 1933.

Mr. Lindley disavows psychological as well as Marxian interpretations. Nevertheless, he makes one of the shrewdest analyses of Mr. Roosevelt that I have seen. The President, he says, is a countryman. "He has to an extraordinary degree Jefferson's distrust or dislike of urban life. . . . I have heard him praise beautiful scenery and rather plain countryside from one end of the nation to the other, but I cannot recall any speech in which he has congratulated a large city on its growth or its skyline." To me, this makes Mr. Roosevelt's hostility to bankers, brokers and big business men—a surprising hostility in the light of his essential conservatism—seem more explicable than it ever has before. They are the countryman's traditional enemies.

The two other books listed above are partisan volumes, far removed from Mr. Lindley's scrupulous neutrality and laborious precision. Mr. White's book is a revision of the newspaper and magazine stories he wrote at the time of Mr. Landon's nomination. Mr. White is one of the ablest reporters this country has ever seen, but even his great talents cannot make Mr. Landon seem anything but an ex-oil operator. The book contains beautifully done accounts of the Republican and Democratic conventions, as well as a remarkable minute-by-minute description of the building of the Republican platform, in which Mr. White himself had a great share.

Mr. Kennedy is a successful stock-market operator and the former head of the Securities and Exchange Commission. His book has apparently been written as a counterbalance to Mr. James P. Warburg's "Hell-Bent for Election." It sets forth in one-syllable words the reasons why anyone with a million dollars should be willing to vote for Mr. Roosevelt. All the reasons given boil down to two: because the market is now going up, and because Mr. Roosevelt has been, and still is, the best insurance of the rich against revolution. JONATHAN MITCHELL.

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City of Moloch

The Brothers Ashkenazi, by I. J. Singer. Translated from the Yiddish by Maurice Samuel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

MR. SINGER is not a master of the technique of the novel, nor has he profound insight into the human soul. He uses tricks—symbolic prophecy: it is foretold at their birth that the twin brothers Ashkenazi would not become pious Jews, and they don't, and it is further foretold that they would become very rich, and they do; symbolic coincidence: two men, strangers, go on the same train into the interior of Russia; they come back years later also on the same train, and they still have not met, and that is supposed to prove something. Mr. Singer's characters are not very original; his non-Jews are stock figures; as in a thousand melodramas the old master kicks the servant who is taking off his boots; the sons are gross, brutal, they run after actresses; and though it is probably true that without exception every Tsarist official the Jew came in contact with took bribes, Mr. Singer says that after the Bolshevik revolution the Red commanders continued taking bribes. Finally, Mr. Singer tries to describe unlikely characters, such as the French wife who was so much in love with her husband that she publicly fondled him and continually kissed his hands.

But the story Mr. Singer tells is much more than the story of individual characters; it is the story of the growth and death of the city of Lodz in Poland, and that is an engrossing, sometimes an amazing story. Imagine if the American colonies had never revolted and, if they had, the Redcoats had won and crushed the revolt, and the British crown had kept mercenaries here, with whips and with guns to keep the population in place. Venal governors had continually arrived and stolen fortunes for themselves. The center of government knew nothing of the colonies' problems, nor cared; this in spite of their growth: immigrants continually arrived from yet unhappier places, and the age of machinery had come, and of steam power. Imagine there were no frontier; the colonies had stopped at the original thirteen. And then imagine the growth of one city, a textile city. That is the story of the city of Lodz.

Yet it is more complicated. The German weavers from Silesia and Saxony who, in their covered wagons piled with looms and with children, cattle trailing behind, had trudged over roads that Napoleon had rutted, the well-to-do Jews exiled from White Russia after the assassination of Alexander II, the starving Jews from Lithuania, the Polish peasants who, discouraged, had abandoned land owned by absentee nobility: these waves upon waves of hunger-driven people who met by the Lodka lake and there reared up a city of a million inhabitants, had no land of promise to look forward to, no magnificent urge, no slogans: "Westward Ho!" no go-getting spirit; they arrived not in hope but in discouragement; not to new land, untouched forests, unused waters and unlimited room, but to vitiated land, guarded lakes and rivers, fences and game keepers, an apathetic population, cynical officials, alien police and whip-wielding Cossacks; they came not on a clean dawn, but into a thick and despairing fog. They built the ugliest and unhappiest city in the world, a place dark with factory smoke and stinking slums, teeming with hunger and greed and race prejudice and plain hate. In Lodz growth was not accompanied by the beauty, the nobility of growth. No one got grass, trees or a lovely view. The factory owner's palace that Max Ashkenazi coveted and that he got to live in ill at ease, was not desirable by any criterion. The horrible pile was next door to the factory, bestunk by the fumes, like the surrounding slums. The laws of economic development here won a victory with a vengeance. All became victims of the system, and all knew they were victims; all knew—those who from a constant starvation now were hungry only at times, and those who after owning a few hand looms became owners of great steam factories and were rich beyond dreams—that their city had grown because it was discovered that the Polish standard of living was lower than that of the Germans, who until Lodz had been built had supplied Russia with textiles. The standard of living was kept low by the tariff wall, by religious pressure, by the Cossack's knout, by turning class hatred into race prejudice, by pogroms—and beyond, to the East, stretched the great Russia kept undeveloped by an ignorant and cowardly bureaucracy. In Russia they still used the feudal merchant system, while here new methods had been discovered, power was being used, industrial civilization had burst out. Jewish salesmen, though forbidden, somehow crept into Russia, somehow brought back orders, somehow delivered the merchandise. The Ashkenazis got their hearts' desire: Max got money by working hard for it, and Yakob, the lazy brother, got the use of money.

"The Brothers Ashkenazi" is a great book in spite of itself; it is great by virtue of a theme that withstands all sorts of mishandling without losing its vitality. Lodz rose; the Ashkenazi brothers rose with it. Then, after the War, Russia put a fence around herself and built her own looms, and Lodz was in a Poland that was free but so small, it made no difference how hard Max worked; Polish textiles were doomed; by no sheer projection of will could the factory be kept open. Yakob was killed by a Polish officer, and it was just as well for him to be dead; no more could he live off the cream. There was no more cream, nor was there any milk; nor for the poor was there barley water. Lodz was dead.

NATHAN ASCH.

Mr. Bradford's Scrapbook

Elizabethan Women, by Gamaliel Bradford. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 243 pages. $3.

A BOOK made with a pastepot is likely to contain matters of many different weights, from bobbing cork to the stone that too often serves our cry for bread. In this volume various essays written between 1890 and 1910, mostly critical, a few historical and sociological, and apparently intended originally for very different groups of readers, are patched together and committed to the literary stream. Although Mr. Bradford did not live to see the book through the press, nothing in the editor's preface indicates that its present form is not essentially as the author planned it; and nothing short of a radical revision of the entire scheme would have made it into a unified study.

The introduction, with its superficial sketch of history under the Tudors and Stuarts, its hasty allusions to the Renaissance, its few familiar anecdotes of Sidney and Raleigh, and its pale generalizations on Elizabethan literature, is no more than the lightest of cork, designed to buoy up the reader whose memories hardly go beyond "1066 and All That." The first three chapters, on the education, home life and social life of Elizabethan women, although they may still keep such a reader afloat, have keels going somewhat deeper. But all the remaining chapters on the women of Elizabethan drama—originally written not for such a

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reader at all but for the student of literature—would not drown him, perhaps, but bury him under a considerable mass of earth and literary rubble.

The fundamental fault of "Elizabethan Women," however, is not that it is an amalgam adapted to neither the ignoramus nor the cultivated, but that it has maintained no clear grasp on any central aim. It seems to begin as a social picture of the life and character of women in the period; it then becomes rather *jejune* literary criticism, dealing in laudation of the "beauties" of the feminine parts in the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher, Middleton, Webster, Massinger, Ford, Shirley and others, and in approval or dismay of their moral coloring. Nowhere is any effort made to do what might have been highly significant: to deduce from the drama of the age those traits by which its women were characteristically *of* their time. Neither psychological penetration nor social insight appears; here is a scholar in his study affectionately sifting sawdust about his books, at several removes from life. It is not Elizabethan women we find in this volume: only literary chitchat, an imitation of an appearance of an imitation. EDGAR JOHNSON.

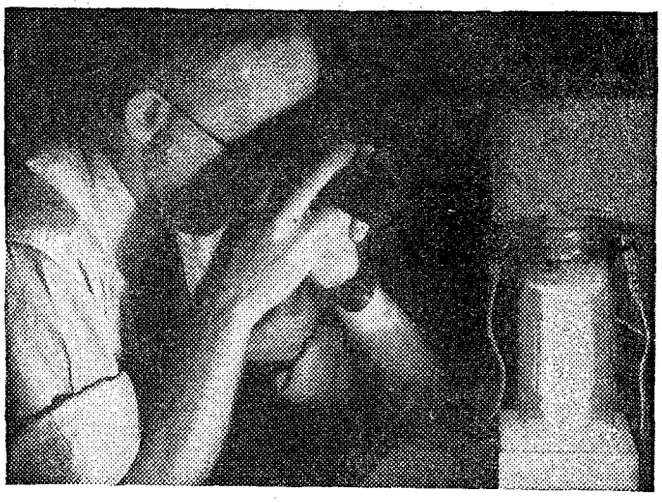
Revolutionary Diplomats

The Diplomacy of the American Revolution, by Samuel Flagg Bemis. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 306 pages. $3.50.

WHEN AN author reaches a clearly defined objective, it is captious, perhaps presumptuous, for a reviewer to suggest that the objective might have been different. Professor Bemis says that his purpose is to present a "balanced and somewhat condensed narrative of the diplomacy of American independence." Obviously he has succeeded. But one can only regret that this balanced history is so condensed as to deprive us of the best fruits of the author's scholarship. With the work of some historians this would be a matter of indifference. But Professor Bemis has an esoteric knowledge of the mass of documentary material, American and European, which provides the stuff of great historical work. He knows his way around the archives of diplomacy in Washington, London, Paris, Madrid and elsewhere, as does no other American. He has shown in earlier volumes and spasmodically in this volume that he can present his material in vivid English, even though he is not a master of rhetoric. With a vast storehouse of knowledge to draw on, Professor Bemis gives us here only a tempting morsel of the history of American diplomacy during the Revolution. This volume is definitive in the sense that it is authoritative and reasonably complete; it is disappointing in the sense that it should have been two volumes at the very least, well written and with solid meat on the skeleton here outlined.

There is no slovenly scholarship here, however. Professor Bemis is so thoroughly a master of his material that he handles with ease tasks which might be the despair of others. Moreover, he sees the diplomacy of the Revolution in its proper perspective. His judgments of personalities are mature and eminently fair; persons who read Mr. Burton Hendrick's recent "The Lees of Virginia" might well look into Professor Bemis' appraisals of Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams, Jay, Arthur Lee and Silas Deane. Hendrick's display is more pyrotechnic, Bemis' entirely unspectacular but fundamentally more valuable. In the last analysis, of course, Bemis is meant for the serious student of American history.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.



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Books in Brief

Adventures in Reputation: With an Essay on Some "New" History and Historians, by Wilbur Cortez Abbott. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 264 pages. $2.50.

THE DIFFERENCE between the historian who wrote these essays and most others of his profession is that he has read the classics of historical writing with patience, respect and appreciation, that he has educated himself in literature, and that he knows more about the past than is to be found in history textbooks and monographs. He believes that history must be well written, accurate and built on honest, thoughtful effort if it is to live; and he turns his blunt irony against both the pedants and the popularizers. In this little volume Mr. Abbott reviews the reputations of some half-dozen historical characters, recounts the curious career of a Kansas town, and then offers the reader an essay entitled "Some 'New' History and Historians" which should be kept alongside the bulletins of Consumers' Union. With venom and gusto he removes the tinsel from the New Schoolers, the Ludwigians, the Stracheyans, the musty monographers, the pleasant, interesting suggesters, the textbookers who become presidents of the American Historical Association, the scramblers of chronology, the historians given to statistics and the biographers devoted to beds and palpitating hearts. Happily for historiography, most of this stuff will soon decay; the least objectionable of it will endure as pale specimens in the histories of literature; none of it will continue to overshadow the work of a Halévy or, the reviewer would like to add, a Trotsky. That at least is Mr. Abbott's hope, and this reviewer's. EUGENE N. ANDERSON.

Manhattan Side Street, by Jay Dratler. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

The thread of story in "Manhattan Side Street" is very slight—a block of buildings in a New York tenement district is to be torn down to make room for modern construction, and removal from their homes and businesses sets up various problems for the people who are living there. The many characters—foreign-born settlers and their children and some "Americans"—are seen in their homes, going to school, at business, looking for excitement and diversion on the street at night, becoming involved in one another's lives. Disillusion comes early to the dwellers of the street; no love story is an unalloyed romance; every now and then the young glimpse their own dull futures in the drabness of their elders. Pepper Stone is attracted to one of the wreckers, but marries another who is "safe"; Pat Clewes is in love with worthless Hal Pratt, and marries fine Jake Blumengut only from despair; Tony Minoni becomes a hero. There is no main plot aside from the wrecking of the street, but there are many stories—horrible, pitiful, briefly joyous, dramatic stories, each growing so naturally out of circumstances that the particular situation has only the slight pointing up of such events in a large pattern of life. Mr. Drattler is an honest and sensitive observer. It is a tribute to his work to say that one gets from it less the feeling of reading a book than of living in the street itself. B. E. B.

A Fugue in Cycles and Bels, by John Mills. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 269 pages, diagrams. $3.

This is a book about noise, sound—and electrical music. John Mills, one of America's best known electrical-research engineers, sees tremendous revolutionary changes ahead in the whole field of communications, and in these pages he

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tries to outline the basic principles of the science that has to do with the what and how of hearing. Especially interesting is Part III, in which he discusses various developments in the field of electrical music, including the dramatic demonstrations in Philadelphia about three years ago with Leopold Stokowski participating in them. Altogether, this is a commendable example of scientific popularization in a field whose cultural importance is matched by its extraordinarily complex and difficult technical character. H. W.

Contributors

H. N. Brailsford, who is London correspondent for The New Republic, has written numerous books and articles dealing with history, economics and international affairs.

Lionel Trilling is a member of the English department of Columbia University and a contributor of criticism to the reviews. His critical study of Matthew Arnold will probably appear this year.

Virginia Hamilton lives in Montclair, New Jersey. Her poems have been published in The New Republic, The Atlantic Monthly and Poetry.

Earl Browder is the Communist Party candidate for President. His biography in brief appears on page 203 in the supplement to this issue.

Jonathan Mitchell lives in Washington, D. C., where he has had an opportunity to observe the New Deal at first hand. He has written numerous articles dealing with politics and public affairs for The New Republic and other magazines.

Nathan Asch, son of the famous Yiddish novelist Sholem Asch, was born in Poland and lived for a time in Lodz, scene of "The Brothers Ashkenazi." His own books include "The Office," "Pay Day" and "The Valley."

Edgar Johnson is completing a book on English biographical literature, entitled "A Glass of Times."

Edward Mead Earle is associate professor of History in Columbia University. He is the author of "Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway."

Eugene N. Anderson is a professor in the History department of the University of Chicago.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Beatrice E. Bettinger, Mark Schorer and Harold Ward.

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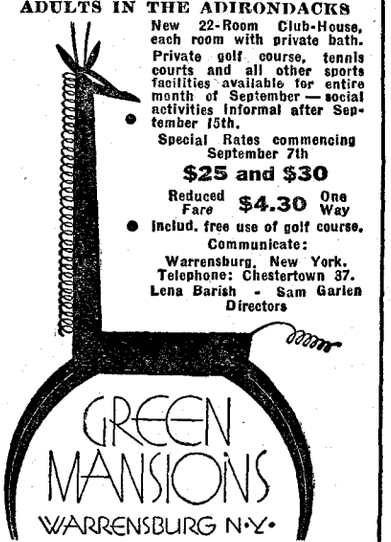

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What Will the Parties Do?

ANYONE who wants to know what the various parties pretend to believe in, and what they say they will do, has only to read their platforms. For the convenience of those who wish to compare platform promises, we present them in condensed form elsewhere. But every intelligent voter knows that these promises are seldom a good prediction of future action. They are commonly framed to satisfy as many interests as possible, and these interests are not in agreement with one another. Therefore platforms are full of implied contradictions and resounding generalities. They are not carefully considered programs of action, but honey spread to catch votes of millions who will have little power over action, once the party assumes power.

In order to make an intelligent guess concerning what each party really will do, one has to make a judgment concerning the interests that control it and the circumstances it will face, and then check the platform against this judgment. This is what we shall here attempt.

The Republicans.—The Republicans are clearly the conservative party in the United States, representing and controlled by the big propertied interests. They are alarmed by the departures from traditional ways of doing things attempted by the New Deal, and still more by the threat that they believe it embodies to their political and economic power. This feeling they express by appeal to traditional symbols such as constitutional liberty and the Supreme Court, "sound" finance and monetary policy. At the same time, however, they are shrewd enough to understand that the New Deal measures were a response to widespread popular discontent with actual conditions, and that in order to win power they must make at least verbal concessions to this discontent. Thus the Republican platform is, in a large aspect, a general condemnation of the Roosevelt administration, combined with promises to attempt many of the same things.

The Republicans respond to the demand for security against unemployment by a promise to nourish business prosperity so that jobs can be plentiful. They therefore will not "harass" or permit governmental competition with private industry. At the same time, they respond to the hostility to big business and its policy of restricting production and keeping prices higher than they need be, by a promise vigorously to break up monopoly and maintain competitive conditions and opportunity for the small man. It does not take a soothsayer to predict that, of these two contradictory promises, the first will be honored by performance, the second by breach. Letting big business have its own way in a period of revival will undoubtedly be compatible with increasing employment, but it will scarcely abolish unemployment, and will do nothing to avoid unhealthy boom and future depression.

The Republicans favor other types of social legislation and insurance, and protection of the right of collective bargaining from interference from "any source." But they are not willing to utilize federal power to these ends; they are willing to amend the Constitution only to the extent of giving the states power to enact minimum wages and maximum hours for women. The result will be that social legislation and insurance may continue their former halting and largely ineffectual advance, and that the right to collective bargaining, not being protected by federal power, will be subject to the customary interference by employers.

Mr. Landon will not undo the devaluation of the dollar, but he will not carry it further. Neither will Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Landon wants to restore the full gold standard at the new valuation, making currency fully convertible into gold. He also wants to abolish the newly concentrated power over central banking policy in the hands of a governmentally controlled Federal Reserve Board. In view of the existence of enormous gold reserves, these two retreats would make it utterly impossible to check credit inflation accompanying a business boom. This is the kind of inflation that is most likely to come in any case and is highly profitable to big business.

The Republicans want to balance the budget and build up a surplus to retire the debt, (a) without increasing taxes and in fact while removing the tax on additions to corporate surplus, and (b) without denying necessary relief to the unemployed or to farmers, or contributions to social insurance. This feat is impossible without a business boom; with a business boom either party can accomplish it. It is a safe prediction that Mr. Landon would sharply cut governmental relief expenditures and constructive activities demanding public funds, even if a great deal of suffering were occasioned thereby. He would do more to restrict the role of the federal government, either in prosperity or depression, than would his rivals.

The Republicans would reverse the policy of trying to revive foreign trade by reciprocal tariffs and lower duties. They adhere to the ancient doctrine of tariff protection. This they again offer to the farmers as a means to prosperity. They also promise the farmers a subsidy to make up the loss on exportable surpluses sold below the domestic price. It is a question whether this promise would be carried out, in view of the desire to balance the budget. If it were carried out over a series of years, with no restrictions on agricultural production (and the

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Republicans denounce these restrictions), it would become a greater drain on governmental finance than any inaugurated under Roosevelt.

On foreign policy and peace the Republican platform offers little but meaningless generalities. It is against foreign entanglement and against participation in war. Everybody knows that economically we are entangled, and that without governmental action forbidding export of munitions, contraband and credit, we should experience the same forces working for participation in a world war as in 1914-1917. Such embargoes would seriously injure, for the time being, the interests that control the Republican Party. The Republican bent against government interference also indicates that they would not be applied. On the other hand, a Republican administration would probably be very touchy about interference with American rights, destruction of American property, or loss of American lives, for which belligerent nations might be responsible.

The Democrats.—Though the Democratic Party does not keep the support of the main big-business and financial interests, it is a curious mixture of groups, held together partly by tradition and partly by Mr. Roosevelt's personal leadership. Its backbone is, of course, the customarily Democratic solid South, and various political machines in Northern states and cities. There is little cohesion of opinion among these stalwarts, and the active politicians are interested mainly in office and patronage. Some business and financial men are allied with them. These groups are principally concerned with winning the election, and for this purpose must rely on adherents, not traditionally Democratic, attracted by the President and his administration. Preëminent in this support is organized labor, headed by Labor's Non-Partisan League, and wage-earners generally. The Democrats hope also to retain farmers' votes on account of their farm program, and to attract white-collar workers and liberally minded persons generally. No doubt a majority of those on relief will prefer the Democratic candidate.

The Democrats make fewer promises about the future than the Republicans, and dwell more on their recent record. For a detailed analysis of that record we refer readers to "The Balance Sheet of the New Deal," published as a special supplement with our issue of June 10, 1936. Such analysis, however, has only a limited bearing upon what the Democrats will do in the future.

A large number of the more important New Deal measures are either dead or avowedly temporary. The N.R.A. has disappeared. So has the A.A.A. in its original form of the domestic-allotment plan, and in its proposed, but never executed, regulation of processing and distributing industries. The new soil-conservation act substituted for it still has to pass judicial scrutiny. Federal oil and coal regulation have both been thrown out, like the N.R.A., by the Supreme Court. The collective-bargaining provisions of Section 7a of the N.R.A., passed in improved form in the Wagner act, are under court attack and, even if sustained in principle, will probably not apply to the bulk of mining, manufacturing, construction or trade, since these occupations are held not to be subject to the commerce clause of the federal Constitution. Governmental borrowing and spending to stimulate recovery will be abandoned as recovery advances; relief and public works will be more and more restricted as prosperity approaches. The work of the Securities and Exchange Commission will probably continue, if it passes the scrutiny of the Supreme Court, as will the T.V.A., other power and regional-planning projects, soil conservation and minor activities. The social-security program, highly deficient in any case, will have to be revised if it is to be really effective. The party promises a housing program, in general terms. It also promises civil-service reform.

The Democratic Party would undoubtedly be more liberal in relief than would the Republicans under similar conditions; it would make somewhat less strenuous efforts to balance the budget, as it promises to do at the earliest opportunity. If recovery grows into prosperity, as now seems likely, it probably would not be in a hurry to reinstate New Deal measures or inaugurate other regulations of industry. It is, however, pledged to consider an appropriate constitutional amendment giving the federal government power to do such things if regulatory legislation continues to be invalidated by the Supreme Court. In this connection, some expect President Roosevelt to change the complexion of the Court by new appointments, when inevitable retirements or deaths occur, but there is doubt whether all his appointments would be good ones.

The general tendency of a reëlected Roosevelt would be more alive to social needs and governmental action to care for them than would Landon, because he would be less dependent on business and more on labor. He would, by the same token, be more friendly to expansion of labor organization. As far as legislation is concerned, however, his action would be largely dependent on the strength of the progressive and labor delegation in Congress.

Roosevelt, like Landon, is opposed to American participation in war. Though his record is not wholly satisfactory in the matter of neutrality legislation, he would probably resist business and financial pressure for dealings with belligerents more strongly than his chief opponent.

The Socialists.—It is not necessary in the case of the Socialists to make the same distinction between what they say and what they would do as in the case of the Republicans and Democrats. Since they cannot win anyway, and bid for support on the basis of their principles, they undoubtedly mean what they say. They would socialize the mines, railroads, power and other key industries. They would extend much more adequate unemployment relief and pass a comprehensive social-insurance measure. They would recognize collective bargaining, protect

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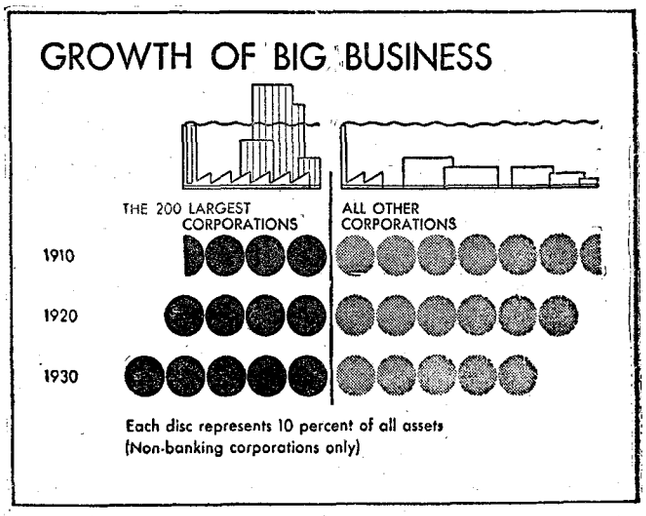
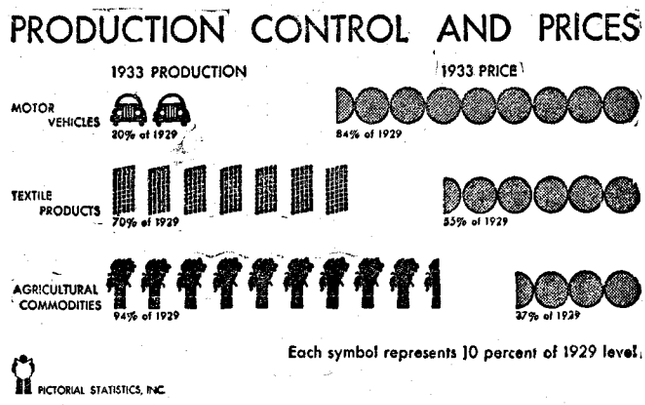
unions against employers' attacks, abolish anti-labor injunctions and company unions. They would take from the Supreme Court the power to declare social legislation unconstitutional, and amend the Constitution to permit government to acquire and operate industries, and to make future amendments less difficult. They would aid farming by abolishing tenancy, expanding coöperatives, extending easy credit and stabilizing prices at farmers' "cost of production." They would rely heavily on income and profits taxes. They favor stronger neutrality legislation pending the construction of a social order that eliminates the causes of war, and pledge unconditional opposition to any war in which our government may engage.

The Communists.—The Communist platform, curiously enough, is even less radical than the Socialist in the matter of socialization of industry. It does call for national ownership of the banking system and government operation of closed mines and factories to give the unemployed work, but for the rest its platform consists largely of specific immediate demands. Of course the Communists have not abandoned their ultimate aim of a socialized society, but for the present they are concentrating on the building of a united labor and popular front to stave off fascism. Like the Socialists, they favor the Frazier-Lundeen bill for social insurance, a curb on the power of the Supreme Court and heavy taxes on profits and incomes. Like the Socialists, they also favor laws to protect labor organization, and aids to the farmer by cheap credit and price-fixing. The Communist platform also resembles the Socialist in laying special stress on the preservation of civil liberties, going somewhat further in emphasis upon the rights of the Negro.

Where the Communist platform differs fundamentally from the Socialist is in its peace policy. It favors coöperation with the League of Nations and the Soviet Union to buttress "collective security" as against Germany, Italy and Japan. It wants a strict neutrality policy, but only as against belligerents who have violated the Kellogg Peace Pact. It does not pledge opposition to any possible war. Though the platform does not say so, Communists would certainly favor trade with and assistance to the Soviet Union or other nations engaged in a war against fascist aggressors.

The Union Party.—The primary force in launching the Union Party and writing its platform seems to have been Father Coughlin, and his National Union for Social Justice is likely to give the party its chief political strength. Allied with Father Coughlin in supporting the Lemke candidacy are Dr. Townsend and his disciples of the Old Age Revolving Pensions movement and the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, self-styled political heir of Huey Long and the Share-the-Wealth forces. The platform reflects the aims of these disparate groups, borrowing the monetary theories of Father Coughlin, offering a pledge of old-age security with a bow to Dr. Townsend, and proposing limitations of income and inheritance reminiscent of Huey Long. The Union Party differs from the Communists and Socialists in that it is a minority party that lacks both candor and consistency and its frequently contradictory program offers parts that are as shamelessly designed to lure voters as anything in the platforms of the major parties. Needless to say, behind the demagoguery of the three mentioned leaders are millions of followers whose hardships are real and whose feelings are sincere, however naïve may be their notions of economics or their judgments of men. It is difficult to assay the connection between Lemke and Coughlin, Townsend and Smith, for Lemke's record shows him both a better man and a more intelligent man than his present company would indicate. His background is the intensely individualistic, property-minded, city-hating, monopoly-hating farmers of the Northwest who traditionally look toward inflation as a way out of their troubles.





The upper portion of the chart herewith shows the striking rapidity with which control of industry, in the past twenty years, has tended to concentrate itself in the largest units in each field.

The lower part of the chart indicates the way in which industries that were in a position to do so have maintained prices during the depression, and how production and employment dropped most where prices were highest. Thus the manufacturers of motor vehicles, comparatively few in number, in 1933 were still charging 84 percent of the 1929 price level, while their production had fallen by 80 percent. Agriculture, which is highly competitive and is composed of millions of individual farms, most of them small, was maintaining 94 percent of the 1929 production, with prices that had fallen 63 percent.

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Brief Histories of the Parties

The Republican Party

THE EARLY history of the Republican Party throws little light on its present role in American politics. It arose as a "third party" on the left in the controversy over the extension of slavery in the new states and territories. It was not so extreme as the Abolitionists; on the other hand the groups who formed it were dissatisfied with the conservatism of the Whigs and their unwillingness to face the issue. Frémont, its first presidential candidate, was defeated in 1856. It obtained the support of Northern industrial interests, who were naturally partisans of free rather than of slave labor, by promising a protective tariff. It appealed to Northern workers and farmers by claiming to be the true inheritor of the democratic tradition of Jefferson and Jackson. In 1860 it elected Lincoln by less than a popular majority, the Democrats being divided.

After the Civil War, the party lived on the tremendous prestige of having been the champion of the victorious Union. War traditions cemented its popular support; voters were brought up in it as if it had been a church. It became the organ of the successful and expensive industry and finance of the North. Gradually, however, the Democratic Party, secure in possession of the Southern states, regained scattered support among city populations and industrial workers of the North as a representative of Jackson's interest in the common man. The prestige of the Republicans was further undermined by scandals, the depression of the seventies, and a high cost of living resulting from the tariff. The new popular movements tended to split both parties, however. Those who controlled the Republican Party were partisans of big business, the protective tariff, conservative monetary and financial policies, expansive nationalism. The anti-trust agitation, combined with the impulse for progressive reform and Theodore Roosevelt's personal love of power, led to a split in 1912, the campaign of the Progressive Party and the nomination and first election of Woodrow Wilson against divided Republicans.

After the World War, a reunited Republican Party under corrupt machine control was swept into power with the reaction against the War, its disturbance of traditional institutions and the peace settlement. Sharp but brief depression under Harding did not prevent its keeping power as the agent of prosperity; the Democrats offered no clear alternative, but kept to a conservative line. The La Follette progressive movement in 1924 drew more from them than from the Republicans. There followed the golden Coolidge era of post-war prosperity, the debacle under Hoover and the reaction, which for the first time since Cleveland's administration elected a Democrat with a popular majority. The Republicans still represent, and more clearly than ever, the bulk of the financial and industrial power, defending its status against a confused popular revolt. It is a curious paradox that in embodying this defense, the party has become a champion of states' rights against federal jurisdiction—exactly the position occupied in 1860 by the Democratic Party, defending the slave power, against which the Republicans originally fought.

The Democratic Party

THE Democratic Party, which in its earliest years was known as the Democratic-Republican Party, has existed since approximately 1792. It was at the outset the spokesman for the ideas of Jefferson as opposed to those of Hamilton and the Federalists. It stood for the rights of the common man, particularly of the agrarians, and opposed the doctrines of social and political aristocracy of which Hamilton was the chief exponent. It was responsible for adding to the Constitution the Bill of Rights.

The Democratic-Republican Party and its successor, the Democratic Party, were in power for eight successive presidential terms, from 1801 to 1841. During the early part of this period, and following the disappearance of the Federalists, the party broke into two groups, the National Republicans, which afterward became the Whigs, and the Democratic-Republicans, which became the Democrats. The outstanding facts of the third decade of the century was the rise of Andrew Jackson, who was the leading presidential candidate in 1824, but was passed over by the House of Representatives in favor of John Quincy Adams. Four years later Jackson was overwhelmingly elected, and he served two terms. Jackson's rise to power over Adams represented, in a sense, a return to the earliest Jeffersonian principles, but it was also the first coming to power of a genuine commoner, spokesman not only for the plain people but in particular for the frontier ideas and manners of the new territory west of the Alleghenies. He fought vigorously against centralized authority and in favor of states' rights, though he was equally firm in demanding respect for existing federal statutes. Among his notable achievements was the creation of national nominating conventions, the first of which met in Baltimore in 1832.

For the thirty years preceding the Civil War, the outstanding fact about the Democratic Party was that it was almost entirely a sectional group, rep-

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resenting the South and espousing the cause of slavery. By 1860, a schism had appeared in the party between the supporters of Jefferson Davis, who held that under the Constitution slavery was necessary in all new territory added to the United States, and those of Douglas, advocating what might be termed local option in this matter. The split in the ranks of the Democrats permitted the newly established Republican Party, whose candidate was Abraham Lincoln, to win the election although it had but a minority of the total popular vote.

Since the Civil War, the Democrats have elected only three Presidents—Cleveland, Wilson and Roosevelt. In 1876, Tilden, the Democratic candidate, received a larger popular vote than Hayes, the Republican nominee, but the decision went against him in the Electoral Commission. For nearly twenty years prior to 1896, the party was torn by internal dissension over the issue of the free, unlimited coinage of silver. It represented then, as it does now, a strange conjunction of Southern agrarianism and the efficient and unscrupulous political machines of various Northern cities, in particular, Tammany Hall in New York. In 1896, Bryan was defeated on the silver issue by McKinley and the same thing took place in 1900. In both elections, the Democrats enjoyed much support from the Populists, whose radical agrarian party was by that time moribund. Since 1900, partly because of the influx of strength from the Populists, the Democratic Party has on the whole stood substantially farther to the left than the Republicans.

In 1912, it won its first success since Cleveland's second term (1893-97). Taking advantage of the split in the Republican Party brought about largely by the personal enmity between former President Roosevelt and President Taft, the Democrats won with Woodrow Wilson, the Progressives coming second and the Taft Republicans a very poor third. The popular vote was: Wilson, 6,200,000; Roosevelt, 4,000,000; Taft, 3,400,000. The Democrats had only 42 percent of the popular vote, but they carried all but eight states. The Progressives won six, with 88 electoral votes. Taft carried Utah and Vermont, with a total of eight votes.

Wilson inaugurated a striking series of domestic reforms, which was only partly completed when the intervention of the European War turned the nation's attention to foreign affairs. Notable among these reforms was the creation of the Federal Reserve System. Reëlected in 1916 by the narrowest margin and largely on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," Wilson entered the European struggle one month and three days after his second inaugural. In 1920 the Democratic candidate, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, was badly defeated by Warren G. Harding, and similarly heavy defeats were experienced by John W. Davis in 1924 and Alfred E. Smith in 1928. In 1932, a few months after the lowest point of the worldwide depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt won an equally impressive victory over President Hoover, who was the Republican choice to succeed himself.

The Socialist Party

THE PRESENT Socialist Party was formed after a split in the Socialist Labor Party in 1899, when the Socialists who left the old party joined forces with the Social Democratic Party which Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger had been instrumental in forming. In the presidential elections of 1900 the Socialist Party, with Debs as its presidential candidate, polled 97,730 votes, and the Socialist Labor Party 33,450. The voting strength of the Socialist Party steadily gained until 1919, when the party split on the question of affiliating with the Third (Communist) International, the Socialist Party finally refusing to do so, varying from the Third International on the doctrines of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the immediate necessity of forming an underground organization. In 1936 a group of Old Guard leaders in New York State were ousted from control in a primary fight and subsequently failed to elect delegates to the party convention, announcing that they were leaving the party. This group subsequently merged with the American Labor Party in New York State. The party has had sporadic success in local elections since 1900, and at present Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Connecticut, are probably its most prominent officeholders.

The Communist Party

AS EARLY as 1850 the first Communist Club was founded in the United States, and a Communist, Georg Weydemeyer, fought as colonel of a regiment of his own organizing in the Civil War, on the Northern side. The present Communist Party of the United States was not founded, however, until 1919, when a large part of the Socialist Party, led by C. E. Ruthenberg, split from the older body on the issue of the October Revolution in Russia. This party affiliated itself with the Third (Communist) International. The party was subsequently much weakened by the famous "Red raids" of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, but survived and in 1922 emerged into the open again, having won some trade-union support. At this time William Z. Foster had become co-leader of the party with Ruthenberg. During the next period two groups developed in opposition within the party, and both were finally expelled, one on the basis that it had adopted the views of Leon Trotsky, the other on the grounds that it thought the United States an exception to the general laws of decline and collapse of the capitalist system. Since that time the party has grown from a membership of approximately ten thousand in 1929 to approximately fifty-one thousand today.

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The Union Party

THE Union Party was formally announced on June 19, with Representative William Lemke as its candidate for President and Thomas C. O'Brien running for Vice President. The chief supporters of the Lemke candidacy are Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend and the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith. Launching of the party was foreshadowed by the formation of a united front by Coughlin, Townsend and Smith early in June, but the actual announcement of the Union Party was given out by Lemke himself, with an accompanying endorsement by Father Coughlin. Subsequently the national convention of Townsend followers, meeting in Cleveland in mid-July, heard addresses by Lemke, Coughlin, Smith, Norman Thomas and others, but refused to vote formal endorsement of any party or candidate. Dr. Townsend, however, has continued to support Lemke. The convention of the National Union for Social Justice in August voted enthusiastic support of Lemke and O'Brien. Aside from the three spectacular leaders who are supporting him, Lemke's own political background is that of the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota and his personal and legislative interests are primarily agrarian.

Third Party Movements of the Past

THIRD-PARTY movements in the United States have developed since the Civil War and have characteristically expressed the dissatisfaction of Middle Western farmers with unjust exploitation by bankers, railways and elevator owners. Most of these movements have illustrated the familiar debtor's psychology by demanding some form of cheapened currency through which mortgages and other fixed obligations could be paid off in money of the same or less value than that in which they were incurred.

The first national movement of this sort was the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, better known through the title at first given only to its local branches, the Grange. As early as 1867 this movement had gained some attention and by 1874 it had 800,000 members. Its list of grievances was one that sounds familiar sixty years later: excessive freight rates, low prices for agricultural products (especially wheat), unjust tariffs and harsh treatment to borrowers on mortgage. The O.P.H. developed an elaborate consumers' coöperative movement, which owned elevators, warehouses and even steamship lines and insurance companies. After 1876 the national movement rapidly disintegrated, although the Granges continued with limited objectives, mainly social, and are still in existence.

The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union was the successor to the O.P.H., and emerged on the national stage about the year 1889. Among its objectives were the free coinage of silver, government loans on land, the abolition of the national banks and the issuance of additional paper money. In 1889 and 1890 this movement got control of the state government of Kansas and was markedly influential in such widely separated regions as South Carolina and Massachusetts. By the following year it was estimated to have 5,000,000 members, equivalent to twice as many in terms of today's population. By that year it had become the People's Party, almost universally known as "the Populists." Its platform included free silver, the universal eight-hour day, government ownership of railroads, telephones and telegraphs, the direct election of Senators and the initiative and referendum. In the election of 1892 the People's Party received 1,000,000 votes out of 12,000,000, the equivalent of about 3,500,000 votes today. In 1896 and in 1900 it joined forces with the Democratic Party.

The Progressive Party, in 1912, was centered about the vivid personality of Theodore Roosevelt. Elected Vice President in 1900, he succeeded to the presidency a few months later when McKinley was assassinated. Reëlected in 1904, he refused, as Coolidge did after him, to seek a third term, and with his overwhelming popularity he was able virtually to dictate his successor, choosing his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft. It was no doubt inevitable that Roosevelt should be dissatisfied with the man who followed him, and in the subsequent campaign Roosevelt charged that Taft was "the tool of the interests"; historians have in general accepted substantially this interpretation.

In 1912, "T. R." sought the Republican nomination and, when this was denied him, bolted and formed the Progressive Party. The platform endorsed the primary election, then just coming into general use, and demanded the direct election of Senators, which has since been attained. It advocated the short ballot, the initiative, referendum and recall and women's suffrage. It asked the recall of judicial decisions and advocated strict control of trusts but not their abolition. It favored minimum-wage laws, the extinction of child labor, social insurance, the eight-hour day and the creation of a Department of Labor. The break in the Republican ranks enabled the Democrats to win.

The first national Farmer-Labor Party appeared in 1920, again representing in the main agrarian discontent in the Middle West, though with some support from industrial workers, as well. Its presidential candidate, Parley P. Christensen, was, like

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Bryan in 1896, almost unknown before the Chicago convention that nominated him. The party polled 265,000 votes. It was most heavily represented in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Montana, New York, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Washington.

In 1924 came the most serious third-party movement of recent times. Middle Western farmers and some elements in organized labor, including notably the railroad brotherhoods, had seen with increasing dissatisfaction the complete subservience to big business of the Harding-Coolidge administration. The renomination of Coolidge destroyed all hope of any betterment through the Republican Party, and the Democrats followed suit by choosing as their candidate John W. Davis, a wealthy Wall Street lawyer, the attorney for J. P. Morgan and Company. The farmer and labor forces persuaded Senator Robert M. La Follette, who had been a progressive Republican all his life and had made his native state of Wisconsin a leader in social-welfare legislation, to run as the independent candidate of the Progressives. After a campaign of only a few months and with hardly any financial resources, he polled nearly 5,000,000 votes out of a total electorate of some 29,000,000, though he actually carried only his own state. It is interesting to note that in twelve of the Western states La Follette actually received more votes than did Davis.

Since 1924, the third-party movement has continued on a statewide basis in several parts of the Mississippi Valley and the Far West. For some years it has controlled the state of Minnesota, including part of the congressional delegation. In Wisconsin, although the La Follette group returned temporarily to a nominal Republican affiliation, Robert M. La Follette Jr. has been elected United States Senator and his brother, Philip, as Governor of the state, by what is now in name as well as fact a third-party group. In several other states, the Republican or Democratic organization has been captured by groups whose policy and point of view are at least as far to the left as that of the La Follette party in 1924. Mention should be made in particular of the Upton Sinclair Democrats in California, who polled 879,000 votes in the 1934 gubernatorial election despite the fact that vast amounts of money were spent by the motion-picture interests and other conservative capitalists in an unscrupulous campaign of falsehood about Sinclair and his intentions. In the three Pacific Coast states, and to a lesser extent in some of the Rocky Mountain and Mississippi Valley states, there is now a rough amalgamation of various leftward sects, the Upton Sinclair Epics, the Technocrats, the Utopians and even the followers of Dr. Townsend, all united on a simple platform of "production for use."

Other Minor Parties

THE Socialist Labor Party will be in the presidential race this November as it has been for many years in the past. Its presidential candidate is again John W. Aiken, of Chelsea, Massachusetts. This party polled 33,276 votes in 1932.

The repeal of prohibition has not daunted, but on the contrary, has revivified, the Prohibition Party, which is making an active campaign this year. Its presidential candidate is D. Leigh Colvin, who has been an active prohibitionist for a third of a century. He was nominated at the National Convention held at Niagara Falls, New York, last May.

Biographies of the Candidates

The Democratic Candidates

IT IS a striking fact about this year's political campaign that President Roosevelt, the Democratic nominee, is a member of the most distinct aristocratic group existing in this country, while Governor Landon, the Republican choice, may fairly be described as "a plain man of the people" —although a millionaire. President Roosevelt is a member of the eighth American generation of his family, seven having lived in the vicinity of the President's estate "Krum Elbow," Hyde Park, New York. He was born at the ancestral home at Hyde Park, January 30, 1882. He studied at Groton, an exclusive private school for boys, most of whose students come from wealthy American families. He received an A.B. degree from Harvard in 1904, and studied at Columbia Law School for the next three years, from 1904 to 1907. From 1907 to 1910, he practised law in New York City in the firm of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn. In 1910 he was elected to the New York State Senate, where he served until 1913. In that year he resigned to take a post in the incoming administration of President Wilson as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, traditionally held by a member of the Roosevelt family. He kept this position almost to the end of Wilson's second term, resigning in 1920. During the Great War his duties twice called him overseas. In 1920 he was the unsuccessful vice-presidential candidate of the Democrats with Governor Cox of Ohio, who was defeated by Harding. From 1924 to 1933 he was, nominally at least, in law practice in New York. In 1928, he was elected Governor of New York and was reëlected in 1930. In 1932 he was chosen President over Mr. Hoover by a vote of 22,821,000 to 15,761,000.

In August, 1921, Mr. Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paralysis after a swim in the icy

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waters near his summer home at Campobello, New Brunswick, and for some time it was believed the illness would be fatal. He made a remarkable recovery, although practically paralyzed from the waist down. He was aided in doing so by exercises in a pool at Warm Springs, Georgia, where he has since maintained a home and has been the moving spirit in the Warm Springs Foundation, which has been of inestimable benefit to many victims of poliomyelitis, most of them children. Although at first he walked with difficulty on crutches, for some years now he has moved about freely with the aid of canes and an iron brace. Journalists who have accompanied him on transcontinental journeys pay tribute to his inexhaustible vitality.

Mr. Roosevelt was married shortly after leaving Harvard, in 1905, and has five children. He was an Overseer of Harvard for six years, beginning in 1918 and has been a trustee of Vassar, St. Stephen's and Cornell. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, a Mason and an Episcopalian.

John Nance Garner, Vice President of the United States and candidate for reëlection on the Democratic ticket, lined up with an honored American tradition at the very start of his life by being born in a log cabin. This was at Clarksville, Texas, in 1868, and he came of a family whose forbears had moved westward from Virginia into Tennessee and thence to Texas. He worked as a clerk in his uncle's store to earn enough money to study law at Vanderbilt University. When his health failed, he returned to Texas, read law in a local office and successfully passed the bar examinations. He served as county judge at Uvalde, Texas, and in the state legislature before entering upon his twenty-five years of service in the House of Representatives in Washington. He was chosen Speaker of the House by the Democratic majority following the 1930 elections, and in 1932 was elected to his present office. He has shown himself extraordinarily able at judging and managing the practicalities of getting any given legislation through Congress, and has set a record in being the first Vice President never to make a single formal speech while in office.

The Republican Candidates

ALFRED MOSSMAN LANDON was born at West Middlesex, Pennsylvania, September 9, 1887, and is therefore about five and one-half years younger than President Roosevelt. The Landon family at that time resided in Ohio, but Governor Landon's mother had returned, shortly before his birth, to her parental home in Pennsylvania. Governor Landon grew up in Ohio, studying in the Academy at Marietta. His family moved to Kansas and he went through the University at Lawrence, being graduated with an LL.B. in 1908. Immediately upon being graduated he went into business at Independence, Kansas, where his home still is.

After 1912 he became interested in oil and accumulated a substantial fortune in that industry. He was married in 1915 and, his wife having died, he married a second time in 1930. One child of the first marriage and two of the second survive. He served during the World War as a first lieutenant in the Chemical Warfare Service. He was elected Governor in 1932, in spite of the Democratic landslide that year in all parts of the country. He is a member of the Phi Gamma Delta fraternity, a Methodist, a Mason, an Oddfellow and an Elk.

Governor Landon first came to national prominence through the report that he had balanced the Kansas budget, a feat that seemed remarkable in view of the heavy deficits in the accounts of some other states and of the federal government. The facts about this matter have been printed so often that only a summary is needed here: the balancing of the budget was mandatory under legislation passed before Landon became Governor, and in effect when he took office. It has been achieved through economies in the operation of various state services, economies regarded by competent authorities as undesirable in the extreme. Even so, the budget would undoubtedly have been out of balance during Landon's term were it not for the large sums of money poured into Kansas by the A.A.A., the F.E.R.A., the P.W.A. and other federal agencies.

Colonel Frank Knox, the Republican candidate for Vice President, was christened William Franklin Knox at the time of his birth in Boston on New Year's Day of 1874. He was graduated from Alma College in Michigan in 1898 and immediately enlisted in Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders for service in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Upon his return, he joined the staff of a newspaper in Grand Rapids, later bought The Sault Ste. Marie News, of which he was publisher from 1901 to 1912. In the latter year he moved to Manchester, New Hampshire, and soon acquired The Union and Leader, which he still publishes. He was Republican state chairman of Michigan in 1910, took an active part in the Bull Moose campaign of 1912, worked for General Leonard Wood in 1920, and in 1924 was defeated for the governorship of New Hampshire by John G. Winant. During the World War he served overseas with the 153rd Field Artillery, attaining the rank of major. He was placed in charge of The Boston American and The Boston Advertiser, units of the Hearst chain, in 1927, and in 1931 left Hearst's employ to become publisher of The Chicago Daily News, a position he still holds.

The Socialist Candidates

NORMAN THOMAS, who will be fifty-two years old on November 20 of this year, came to the Socialist movement during the War, when many were leaving it. He was founder and editor of The World Tomorrow, and later he became an asso-

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ciate editor of The Nation. He is chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, which, since its beginning in 1926, has contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars and tons of clothing to striking miners, textile workers, shoe workers, garment workers and sharecroppers. He has been executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy since 1922, and a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party for the past six years.

For a time before 1918, Mr. Thomas was in the Presbyterian ministry, to which he went after attending Union Theological Seminary. In 1913 he was with a church in mid-Manhattan. After that he conducted, for several years, the American Settlement House in East Harlem, which soon became a center for union organization and progressive, often unpopular, causes. In 1905 he was graduated from Princeton University. Beginning with the preparedness craze, which swept the nation in 1915 and 1916, and then later in the famous mayoralty campaign of Morris Hillquit in 1917, Mr. Thomas' career has been as a leader in the labor and anti-war movement. He joined the Socialist Party in 1918. In 1928, as presidential candidate on the Socialist ticket, he polled about 250,000 votes. In 1932, he polled over 884,000 votes. In 1936 he leads the Socialist Party in its most intensive campaign since the War. Last month, there appeared Mr. Thomas' latest book, "After the New Deal, What?"

George A. Nelson was born of Danish parents on a Polk County, Wisconsin, farm on November 15, 1863. In the Yukon gold rush of '98 Nelson was one of the original sourdoughs, and soon after returned to Polk County with the gold to purchase his present farm in Milltown, Wisconsin. In 1899 Nelson became a member of the Socialist Party. He fought against America's entry into the World War, and during this time lined up with Bob La Follette Sr. He has served in the Assembly of the state of Wisconsin, being speaker in the Assembly for one term, and on the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin. In 1934, he was the candidate of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin for Governor and received over 50,000 votes. At present he is the county president of the Farmers' Holiday Association in Polk County, Wisconsin, and is taking an active part in preventing mortgage foreclosures and keeping the farmers on their farms.

The Communist Candidates

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER was born in Wichita, Kansas, on May 20, 1891, of a family which traced its ancestry back to a family of Virginia planters in 1650. He left school to go to work when he was nine, and when he was fifteen he joined the Socialist Party. At sixteen he became a ledger clerk in a wholesale drug house, of which he

INTERSTATE CHARACTER OF PRODUCTION

PICTORIAL STATISTICS, INC.

The map above, showing the states of origin of a number of important products, clearly reveals the absurdity of seeking to regulate American business by action of individual states, without federal intervention. (The crossed hammers represent coal and other mines, the cross-hatch textiles, the rail sections steel, the cylindrical barrels oil.)

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was office and credit manager at nineteen, but which he quit when the job threatened his principles. In 1912 Browder moved to Kansas City and left the Socialist Party because of the expulsion of Bill Haywood and other militants by the right wing, led by Morris Hillquit. Shortly afterwards he joined the Syndicalist League of North America, in which William Z. Foster was a prominent member, and in 1914 the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union. Early in 1917 Browder played a leading role in founding the League for Democratic Control, which was opposed to the War and fought against the draft. He and the other organizers of the League were arrested and jailed on a charge of conspiracy to violate the federal oleomargarine law. While in jail Browder refused to register for the draft and was sentenced to another year's imprisonment, and after serving this he lost the appeal on the conspiracy charge and served fifteen months of a two-year term in Leavenworth, when he was paroled. Twenty-four hours after his release he had joined the Communist Party. In 1922 he and Foster formed the Trade Union Educational League, with Foster as organizer and Browder as editor of The Labor Herald, which carried on their industrial-union policy. In 1927 Browder was assigned by the Red International of Trade Unions to organize the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, which met in Canton, China. When Canton grew too hot for them Browder escaped to Shanghai, where he stayed for a year as secretary of the Pan-Pacific Conference and editor of an illegal paper. In 1928 he attended the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, and in 1930 the seventh convention of the Communist Party of the United States elected him its general secretary, a post he has held ever since.

James W. Ford was born in Pratt City, Alabama, on December 22, 1893, and at the age of thirteen began life as a railroad worker. He attended Fisk University, and in 1917 entered the United States Army. After the World War he became an active trade unionist, and joined the Communist Party a few years later. He was the Communist candidate for Vice President in 1932, as he is again this year, and in more recent months was a prominent figure in the National Negro Congress.

Behind the headlines
—the impartial, connected story that newspapers, radio, and partisan writers can't—or won't—tell
Before you vote—before you can intelligently discuss the present political, social, economic situation, you need the calm, ordered facts. A trained observer analyzes the national record, and the choice you'll have to make on Nov. 3rd—and leaves you to make up your own mind! Briskly, concisely—
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author of "The Roosevelt Revolution"

The Union Party Candidates

WILLIAM LEMKE was born fifty-eight years ago at Albany, Minnesota, and as a child of four accompanied his parents on a westward trek by oxcart to a farm near Grand Forks, North Dakota. His frontier childhood early accustomed him to hard physical labor and he worked his way through the University of North Dakota, where, despite his comparatively slight physique, he played on and captained the football team. He later attended Georgetown University for one year and eventually received his law degree from Yale University. He is a member of the Phi Delta Theta college fraternity. He began the practice of law in Fargo, North Dakota, in 1905. His first political affiliation was with the Republican Party, and from 1916 to 1920 he served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. He joined the National Non-Partisan League at the time of its founding in 1917 and for a number of years was its chief legal adviser. After the League went into active politics in North Dakota, he was made Attorney General in 1921. He took a leading part in shaping the League's legislative program, including the establishment of state-owned grain elevators and flour mills and the state-owned Bank of North Dakota. He has given lifelong attention to farmers' organizations of all kinds, such as the Farmers' Union, the Farm Holiday Association and the Coöperative Exchange, and has worked especially with the more progressive and left-wing groups. He was elected to the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Congresses as Representative at Large from Minnesota. He achieved national prominence as sponsor of the Frazier-Lemke bill for refinancing farm mortgages at low rates of interest, and showed great skill in lining up strong legislative support for the measure in spite of the opposition of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Lemke is a German Lutheran by religion, does not smoke or drink, is married and is the father of three grown children.

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Thomas Charles O'Brien, the vice-presidential candidate of the Union Party, was born at Brighton, Massachusetts, in 1887. He supported himself by working as a railroad brakeman while attending Harvard University, where he was awarded his degree in law. At the age of twenty-six he was appointed to the State Parole Board, and later was made deputy director of the Prison Department. His work in the fields of criminology and penology attracted national attention. He has practised law since 1927, appearing frequently as counsel for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and other trade unions. He has shown marked ability at making speeches. Mr. O'Brien is a past president of the board of directors of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and he is at present a vice-president of the American Prison Association.

Comparison of Platforms

Unemployment and Relief

Communist.—Advocates government operation of closed mines, mills, factories, unemployment insurance; adequate relief standards; continuance and extension of W.P.A.; large public-works program at union wages. Advocates passage of American Youth Act.

Democratic.—Maintains that unemployment relief must continue to be handled by federal government. Advocates coöperation with state and local governments in providing public projects at prevailing wages.

Republican.—Proposes absorption of unemployed by industry and agriculture, and toward that end advocates removal of restrictions on production and withdrawal of government from competition with private payrolls. Pledges to return relief administration to states with federal grants-in-aid.

Socialist.—Advocates congressional appropriation of six billions to continue relief; continuance of W.P.A. at union wages; government planning of socially necessary industries to reëmploy workers; passage of American Youth Act.

Union Party.—No specific mention of the unemployed, but advocates legislation assuring a living annual wage for all laborers capable of working and willing to work. "Congress shall reëstablish conditions so that the youth of the nation as they emerge from schools and colleges will have the opportunity to earn a decent living while in the process of perfecting themselves in a trade or profession." Advocates large-scale public-works program to conserve natural resources and provide employment at prevailing wages.

Constitutional Amendment and the Supreme Court

Communist.—Wants constitutional amendment to curb the power of the Supreme Court.

Democratic.—Favors procedure within the Constitution if possible. If problems national in scope cannot thus be solved, favors clarifying amendment giving state and federal governments power to enact social and regulatory legislation.

Republican.—Pledges to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court; will favor an amendment empowering states to fix minimum wages and maximum hours of women and children if it proves necessary.

Socialist.—Advocates the child-labor amendment and others removing from the Supreme Court the power to declare social legislation unconstitutional, granting the government the power to acquire and operate industries, making future amendments less difficult.

Union Party.—No mention.

Regulation of Business

Communist.—1936 platform silent on this point, but long-run program is for social ownership and control of all industry.

Democratic.—Upholds theory and workings of Securities and Exchange Commission; demands curbing of utility holding companies; advocates continuance of guarantees on bank deposits. Pledges enforcement of existing anti-trust laws and extension of laws where necessary for "stamping out monopolistic practices."

Republican.—Pledges to preserve free enterprise and private competition. Advocates elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations. Advocates elimination of monopolies, and favors federal regulation, subject to judicial review, of the marketing of securities and the interstate activities of public utilities.

Socialist.—Proposes social ownership and democratic control of the mines, the railroads, the power industry and other key industries.

Union Party.—Favors protection of small industry and private enterprise by controlling and decentralizing monopolies.

Governmental Administration and Budget

Communist.—Demands budget be balanced by taxation of the rich, with steeply graduated taxes on incomes above $5,000. Also taxes on corporate surpluses and profits.

Democratic.—Pledges reduction of governmental expenses and achievement of balanced budget at earliest possible moment. Favors extension of merit system to all non-policy-making positions in federal service. Will bring under civil service all continuing positions in emergency agencies.

Republican.—Favors balancing of the budget not by raising taxes but by cutting expenditures. Pledges improvements and extension of the civil-service merit system.

Socialist.—Proposes drastic increase in income and inheritance taxes on higher incomes; increased excess-profits taxes and wide experimentation in land-values taxation.

Union Party.—Demands abolition of party spoils system and would put all federal offices under civil service. Would enact taxes limiting the net income of any individual in any one year, and limiting gifts and inheritances as well.

Labor

Communist.—Demands federal legislation guaranteeing labor's right to collective bargaining and specifically outlawing company unions; heavy penalties for discharging workers for political or union activties. Minimum annual wages for men and women workers fixed by law; the thirty-hour week. Opposes present railroad-consolidation plan because it means fewer jobs. Demands higher wages, vacations with pay and abolition of wage differentials between North and South.

Democratic.—Claims the administration has increased workers' pay and shortened hours, ended sweated labor of women and children, passed laws guaranteeing "rights to collective bargaining and self-organization free from interference of employers," and set up federal machinery for peaceful settlement of labor disputes. Promises to continue these measures and principles.

Republican.—Pledges to protect the rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively without interference from any source and to remove power of governmental officials over labor. Will support the adoption of state laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor and to fix maximum hours and minimum wages for women and children.

Socialist.—Proposes a thirty-hour week; abolition of injunctions in labor disputes; prohibition of company unions, company guards and the use of police, deputies and troops in labor disputes; recognition of right of collective bargaining in all public industries.

Union Party.—Calls for legislation guaranteeing minimum

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annual wages and payment of prevailing wages on public-works projects.

Agriculture

Communist.—Demands immediate refinancing of farmers' debts with government loans at nominal interest; immediate relief in drought areas; tax exemption for small farms and coöperatives. Opposes any form of crop curtailment and advocates government regulation of prices to guarantee farmer cost of production. Asks graduated tax to prevent large landholdings by absentee owners. Urges self-governing soil-conservation program with compensation to farmer-owners and tenants.

Democratic.—Promises to continue and improve the soil-conservation and domestic-allotment programs and the cash payments under these programs. "Recognizes the gravity of the evils" of farm tenancy and pledges "coöperation" of government in refinancing farm indebtedness. Favors commodity loans on season surpluses, encouragement of farm coöperatives and further retirement of submarginal land and rural rehabilitation.

Republican.—Proposes to maintain commodity prices by means of tariffs, to provide ample farm credit and decentralize its administration, to pay benefits on domestically consumed portion of crops having an exportable surplus, to administer emergency grants-in-aid, to acquire abandoned non-productive farm land for appropriate public use and to protect and restore land resources.

Socialist.—Proposes abolition of tenant farming, substituting use-and-occupancy title or coöperative ownership; marketing, processing and distribution to be by coöperatives; prices stabilized at farmers' cost of production; immediate credit for indebted farmers on easy terms; social insurance against crop failures.

Union Party.—Asks that "Congress shall legislate that there will be an assurance of production at a profit for the farmer."

Social Security

Communist.—Advocates the Frazier-Lundeen bill for compensation to all unemployed, and old-age pensions equal to former earning power. Favors a federal system of maternity and health insurance.

Democratic.—Proposes to erect on foundation of present social-security act a "structure of economic security for all our people," emphasizing unemployment and old-age insurance and provision for the handicapped.

Republican.—Proposes old-age insurance for citizens over sixty-five, paid partially by states, federal contributions to be raised by direct taxation. Encourage states to adopt measures for unemployment insurance. Opposed to present social-security act.

Socialist.—Proposes federal system of unemployment insurance and old-age pensions for persons sixty years of age or over, with federal contributions to be raised by inheritance and income taxes, as provided in Frazier-Lundeen bill; adequate medical care of sick and injured as a social function, publicly financed and democratically administered.

Union Party.—Recommends "that Congress shall legislate that there will be an assurance of reasonable and decent security for the aged."

Neutrality and Foreign Policy

Communist.—Favors bolstering collective security by coöperation with League of Nations and Soviet Union against menace of Germany, Italy and Japan. Advocates nationalization of munitions industry, reduction of armaments and strict neutrality policy prohibiting both trade with and loans to belligerents who have violated the Kellogg Peace Pact. Demands non-intervention in Latin America and the Philippines, independence for Puerto Rico and non-recognition of Japanese and Italian conquests. Advocates elimination of military training in C.C.C. camps and schools.

Democratic.—Opposes war as an instrument of national policy; prepared to resist aggression; pledges efforts to take the profits out of war. Pledges strict neutrality and will "guard against being drawn by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war."

Republican.—Pledges to promote and maintain peace and international arbitration. Opposes United States membership in League of Nations or World Court, and "entangling alliances." Favors an army and navy "adequate for our national defense," coöperation with nations in limitation of armaments and control of traffic in arms. Proposes to collect war debts.

Socialist.—Proposes the abandonment of imperialist ventures of an economic or military nature abroad. Elimination of military training from schools; the maintenance of friendly relations with the Soviet Union; the strengthening of the neutrality laws while building a social order that eliminates the economic causes of war. Pledges unconditional opposition to any war engaged in by the American government.

Union Party.—Recommends adequate defense against foreign aggression by air, land or sea, but would prohibit absolutely any participation in foreign conflicts of any kind. If conscription becomes necessary it should be a conscription of wealth as well as of men.

Foreign Trade

Communist.—No mention.

Democratic.—Upholds negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements and will continue them. At the same time pledges maintenance of adequate tariff protection for farmers and manufacturers.

Republican.—Proposes adjustment of tariffs on all imports competing with United States products to protect home industry; restoration of principle of flexible tariff; repeal of Reciprocal Trade Agreement Law. Opposes secret negotiations of reciprocal trade treaties.

Socialist.—No mention.

Union Party.—Favors legislation protecting American agricultural, industrial and commercial markets from manipulation of foreign moneys and from goods produced abroad at less than a living wage.

Money and Banking

Communist.—Unconditionally opposed to inflationary policies and favors nationalization of entire banking system.

Democratic.—Approves, without reference to metallic standards, permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent wide fluctuations in value. Asserts we now have soundest currency in the world.

Republican.—Advocates sound currency, which the candidate interprets to mean one eventually convertible into gold. Opposes further devaluation of the dollar and all laws shifting from Congress to the Executive the authority to coin money and regulate the value thereof.

Socialist.—No mention.

Union Party.—Demands that Congress alone shall coin, issue and regulate all money and credit through a central bank of issue. Following the establishment of such a bank "Congress shall provide for the retirement of all tax-exempt, interest-bearing bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the federal government, and shall refinance all the present agricultural-mortgage indebtedness for the farmer and all the home-mortgage indebtedness for the city [home] owner by the use of its money and credit which it now gives to the control of private bankers."

Civil Liberties

Communist.—Champions unrestricted freedom of press, radio and assembly. Demands abolition of poll tax and release of political prisoners. Demands an end to deportation of foreign-born workers, reëstablishment of America's traditional right of asylum for political refugees and prohibition of anti-Semitic propaganda by law. Demands complete social, economic and political equality for the Negro. Advocates heavy punishment for mob rule, floggers and kidnapers and death penalty for lynchers.

Democratic.—Promises administration will continue to guard freedom of speech, press, radio and religion as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Republican.—Pledges to preserve, protect and defend, against all intimidation and threat, freedom of religion, speech, press and radio; and the right of assembly and petition and immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures.

Socialist.—Urges abolition of all laws that interfere with the right of free speech, free press, free assembly and the peaceful activities of labor in its struggle for organization and power; the enforcement of constitutional guarantees of economic, legal, political and social equality for the Negro and all other oppressed minorities and the enactment and enforcement of drastic anti-lynching laws.

Union Party.—No mention.

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The Editors' Choice

THE NEW REPUBLIC does not take part in campaign propaganda or partisanship in the narrow sense. It assumes that intelligent voters will make up their minds on the basis of the facts, reviewed in the light of their own interests and consciences. These facts it is the purpose of this handbook to summarize and interpret. But something more is demanded by many readers. They want to know the editorial position of the periodical itself. It is every voter's duty to make a choice and act upon it, and editors should not be exempt from declaring themselves.

A voter's decision, we believe, ought to be based, not on the minutiae of argument about this, that or the other measure or proposal, and not even on personal like or dislike for a presidential candidate —important as the office is. It ought to be based, particularly in this critical period of the history of the world, on major tendencies and a choice among broad social movements. No matter what platforms say, and no matter what candidates may intend to do, they will be largely controlled in action by the impact of circumstances on the one hand and the aggregate of social forces on the other.

Our basic assumptions are as follows. The era of capitalism is past its zenith. Wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions continually are in the offing in this period of crisis. We believe the only ultimate solution compatible with human dignity, and with the basic faith of the American republic in democracy, equality and liberty, lies in the direction of a socialized organization of production and distribution, an order that will be capable of maintaining secure abundance and raising the material and cultural well-being of the people. It is important to make a transition to such an order as quickly as may be. It is also important to make the transition with as little pain and shock to living generations as possible, and particularly without regressing temporarily into war or fascism.

There is only one way to serve both these ends—the way that a democratic republic has left open for us. It is to organize political power by the use of freedom of speech, press and association, to gain popular support for an advance to a humane social order, and to establish it by means of democratic government. We are not so naïve as to suppose this method will not encounter immense difficulties, or so badly informed as to be ignorant of the danger that violent resistance from reactionaries may interrupt it on the way. Nevertheless it is the one chance we have to make intelligent progress, and to make it peaceably. The stronger the democratic movement, the better the chance, no matter what happens.

There is at present no reliable political instrument in the United States for carrying out this purpose. The Republican Party automatically crosses itself out. The Democratic Party, under pressure from the recent economic collapse, has vaguely experimented in the direction of social control, but it has no consistent program and its whole tendency appears to depend largely on the accident of leadership. It wants chiefly to remain in power, and to do so by combining the best of two worlds, by pleasing everybody at once. The Socialist and Communist Parties, avowedly dedicated to a new order, have no chance of winning or even of becoming important political influences in the present campaign. The Union Party includes so much demagoguery that, if it were stronger, it would actually be dangerous. It is the nearest thing to embryo fascism we have in this country.

What is needed is of course a party that is at once collectivist in tendency and finds its sinews of support in organized labor and farmers, a party that can be stable, that can grow, and that can win the adherence of the masses—including, naturally, white-collar and professional workers. Labor parties of this kind exist in all other democratic nations. There have been stirrings in the same direction here in 1920, in 1924, and since then in some states and many localities. The idea of such a party is widely understood and favored. The movement is merely waiting to be crystallized. It is awaiting, particularly, the leadership of progressive sections of organized labor. Progressive laborites, in turn, are moving in the direction of such a party through the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League, which is under C.I.O. influence.

If there were a labor or a farmer-labor party of this kind now in existence, there would be no question of our choice. However we might differ with it in details of program or personnel, it would represent the aggregation of people and the social tendency that would command our loyalty. Since it is not in existence, the question becomes how best to hold the door open for it. At this point there will be a divergence of judgment among those who have so far followed us with substantial agreement.

The simplest decision is to vote on principle by casting one's ballot for the Socialist or the Communist candidate. It is said that unless enough people eventually do this, regardless of the immediate practical result, we shall never have the party we want. If one continues to choose the lesser of two evils every time there is an election, there will never be anything but evils to choose between. We respect this attitude, and are glad that there will be many who will act in accordance with it. At the same time we believe that this is not the way things happen, or can happen, in American politics. There

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never will be enough people who vote on principle, regardless of practical result, to build an effective political party. There must be the enthusiasm of a broad movement, which really has a chance in the calculable future, in order to enlist enough votes so that a party can influence governmental policy.

Another argument for voting one of these tickets seems to us more compelling. It is that if the Left parties grow, the pressure for a real labor party will be increased. Not only that, but a large Socialist and Communist vote will exert a leftward influence on the next administration. All this is undoubtedly true.

A few persons argue that the election of Landon would be desirable because his administration would produce resentment among the masses; it would thus hasten independent political action on the part of labor. This doctrine of opposites does not appeal to us. Who knows what form a reaction against Republicanism would take? If it were strong enough, the Democrats might win with H. L. Mencken's Chinaman. They won last time with Roosevelt, who is condemned as a misleader and confuser of labor by those who argue in this way. Still worse, it might open the way for Father Coughlin or the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith. The doctrine of progress through spasm sometimes works, but it is a dangerous one, and when a deliberate choice can be made, we much prefer a more healthy and normal progression. The miscalculation that may be involved in the support of your chief enemy, on the ground that he is better than those who agree with you more nearly but not nearly enough, was illustrated most strikingly of all by the Communists' aid to Hitler in Germany, before he came to power.

Finally, there is the argument that one should vote for President Roosevelt because either he or Landon will be elected and, after all, he represents in general by far the more progressive tendency. This attitude we respect, but we fear it is based on a miscalculation. Will Mr. Roosevelt act in revival and prosperity as he acted in depression? Does he ever act except as social pressures lead him? Does he really know where he is going? Or does he follow the last advice he has heard, no matter from which side it may come? If it were merely a question of the two leading candidates and their parties, we should be inclined to choose, not the lesser evil, but an increased pressure from the left by an enlarged vote for the minor candidates.

But there is a special argument, more closely connected with our principal assumptions, that impresses us more. The next few years will be critical ones for organized labor. The growth and prestige of the labor movement, both in industry and politics, is fundamentally important. Landon, in spite of his attempt to express a liberal attitude toward labor, will clearly be more favorable to reactionary employers than will Roosevelt. He has adopted their formula that in organization and collective bargaining the workers should be "free from interference from any source." This means, at the least, that governmental power would not be exerted to protect the right of organization from interference by the employer. The Roosevelt doctrine is the one favored by organized labor itself—that the right of labor to organize and bargain through representatives of its choice should be protected by government. Fully as important as this difference in announced policy is the fact that in a close election such as this will probably be, workers' votes in the big industrial states may readily turn the scales. The President must be conscious of the dependence he will owe, if he is elected, to the more progressive cohorts of labor. Here is a social force that is bound to influence his and others' action.

Finally, the very centers of influence in labor that are necessary for leadership in a new labor party are organized, independently of the Democratic Party, in support of Mr. Roosevelt. In New York and other localities they have adopted a new party designation (the American Labor Party) and will support independent candidates of their own, at least below President and Governor. To strengthen the prestige of this movement is essential. To encourage its leaders by a large vote is highly desirable. This group is the nucleus of that larger movement which, when it is formed, will command our loyalty. We ought to be with it from the beginning. To vote for Labor or Socialist candidates in local, state and congressional elections, and for President Roosevelt nationally, will, most of the editors believe, be the clearest possible demonstration of the simultaneous demands for a national labor party in 1940, and for a progressive attitude toward labor in the next administration.

A further refinement of voting policy is possible. Straw votes indicate a close election; if it were not uncertain, there would be little point in amassing an independent vote for Roosevelt. But it will not be equally close in all states. If those who agree with us, but live in states sure to go either for Landon or for Roosevelt, will vote Socialist or Communist according to their convictions, while those who live in doubtful states cast their ballots for Democratic presidential electors, the double strategy we favor will be furthered. According to the latest poll of the Institute of Public Opinion—which we regard as approximately correct—the safely Republican states are Maine, Vermont, Kansas, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and South Dakota, while the safely Democratic are those in the solid South, plus Nevada, Utah, Tennessee, North Dakota, Kentucky, California, New Mexico, Montana, Missouri, Oregon and Maryland. In these states, votes for Thomas or Browder will not be likely to affect the result as between the major contenders. But in the others—and particularly in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota and Wisconsin, the vote is close enough so that labor may turn the scales. It is the judgment of a majority of the editors that in these states we should stand by the progressive unions.

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